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MODERN PHILOLOGY

Volume XLIX

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INCIDENTAL IMAGERY IN *AREOPAGITICA*

ALAN F. PRICE

THE struggle between good and evil is salient in Milton, and in *Areopagitica* his method of setting forth this conflict is to personify books and "truth" and to show them in unceasing warfare against evil forces. Consequently, images from war predominate, aided by body images (health against sickness), by nature images (fruitfulness against aridity), and by images from daily life. Classical and biblical images and allusions are pervasive. Images drawn from animals¹ and the arts are negligible.

Milton's argument is usually more persuasive when it is intuitive rather than discursive. The left hand sometimes needed a transfusion from poetic sources to increase vitality. Thus, after a wary and somewhat labored exordium and exposition, Milton begins his proof with a passage of sustained imagery² which is fused into a whole by the personification of Books. Books can commit crimes; they are "as vigorously productive, as those fabulous Dragons teeth; and being sown up and down, may chance to spring up armed men."³ And yet, in a way, a book is more valuable than a man: "Many a man lives a burden to the Earth; but a

good Booke is the pretious life blood of a master-spirit." Accordingly, "We should be wary . . . how we spill that season'd life of man . . . since we see a kinde of homicide may be thus committed, sometimes a martyrdome, and if it extend to the whole impression, a kinde of massacre." This is characteristic of Milton's method. An image (not a very striking one)⁴ is created and then developed, its ramifications are explored imaginatively until at the end a reader feels that books partake of the divine nature and that the destroyer of books is a Herod.

Books are nearly always presented in terms of humankind: the "Catalogues, and expurging Indexes" of the Spanish Inquisition "rake through the entralls of many an old good Author, with a violation worse then any could be offer'd to his tomb." Books are "either condemn'd in a prohibition" or thrown "strait into the new Purgatory of an Index." An apt and ingenious image, supported by a classic allusion, continues the process of personification: "Till then Books were ever as freely admitted into the World as any other birth; the issue of the brain was no more stiff'd then the issue of the womb: no envious Juno sate cros-leg'd over the

¹ Except "an Eagle muing" (see p. 221 below).

² "The first really impassioned bit of the *Areopagitica*," says E. N. S. Thompson in "Milton's Prose Style," *PQ*, XIV (1935), 13.

³ References are to *The Works of John Milton*, Vol. IV, ed. W. Haller (New York, 1931).

⁴ "Usually the likenesses between objects . . . are as obvious as the common tropes identifying an imitative man with an ape and a stupid man with a donkey," says F. E. Ekfelt in "The Graphic Diction of Milton's English Prose," *PQ*, XXV (1946), 58.

nativity of any man's intellectuall off-spring." If censorship prevails, a book, like "a peccant soul," will be in fear of judgment; foreign books may be kept in quarantine; a licenser will be "made judge to sit upon the birth, or death of books"; he will bind them to their good behavior and not permit them to stir forth without a visible jailor (i.e., an imprimatur) in their title; he will also thrust books, the orphans of worthiest authors, under the control of some "Pastor of a small unlearned Parish [a licenser] exalted Archbishop over a large dioces of books." Thus Milton's imaginative incarnation of books creates sympathy for them and disgust toward their assailants.

A similar method is followed in the personification of "Truth" which begins about halfway through *Areopagitica* and is wrought to a climax in the closing pages. "Truth" is ingenious; it thrives by exercise, as well as our limbs and complexion; it is akin to Christ: "Truth indeed came once into the world with her divine Master," but was hewed by conspirators "into a thousand peeces, and scatter'd to the four winds. From that time ever since, the sad friends of Truth, such as durst appear . . . went up and down gathering up limb by limb still as they could find them." The whole image persuades the imagination that licensers are violating man's deepest religious instincts by attempting to prevent authors from seeking the torn body of their martyred saint, "Truth." Suggestiveness and significance are heightened by the skilful way in which the story of Typhon and Osiris is woven into the pattern of the image, so that a reader's sympathy for the wronged Osiris is attached to "Truth" and his dislike of the cruel Typhon attached to the licenser.

Later a group of military images is used to show how impregnable "Truth" is when unhampered by censorship: "Let her

and Falshood grapple; who ever knew Truth put to the wors." The enemies of "Truth," however, dare not face "a free and open encounter" and skulk in ambush behind "a narrow bridge of licencing." Here a reader's feelings are strongly disposed to favor a writer because he is closely linked to "courage / fair-dealing / Truth" and to dislike the licenser because he is closely linked to "cowardice / intrigue / Error."

In fact, this along with the other examples given of the personification of books and "Truth" illustrates Milton's most important method of image-making in *Areopagitica*. He is not mainly concerned to give pleasurable illumination by fusing disparate elements into a new whole,⁵ by revealing "a balance or reconciliation of opposite or discordant qualities."⁶ This imaginative synthesis is, of course, present in varying degrees in all his images and personifications, but the main effect is to direct liking or loathing toward the ideas embodied in the "tenor" of the image by means of the associations aroused by the "vehicle"⁷ of the image. And in this connection Milton cleverly exploits the large fund of sentiment in his readers antagonistic toward "the Pope and his appurtenances the prelates." Thus the reader's mind is colored against licensing more by vivid imaginative impressions than by the underlying rational argument.

Throughout, licensing is associated

⁵ "It can rarely be said that the prose figure purposes to free the imagination. . . . Instead it seeks to give immediacy to abstractions" (Ekfeldt, p. 56).

⁶ Coleridge, *Biog. lit.*, chap. xiv. I am indebted throughout to what Dr. I. A. Richards in *Principles of Literary Criticism* (London, 1924) calls "that lumber room of neglected wisdom" (p. 140).

⁷ I use a footnote from A. K. Croston's article of Nashe in *RES*, XXIV, 91: "To distinguish the two parts of the image I borrow the technical terms suggested in *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*. 'Tenor' is used for the 'underlying idea or principal subject,' 'vehicle' for the reference—sometimes in itself misleadingly termed the 'image,' a word which is more properly used to refer to the whole double unit."

with matters which most English people at that time (presumably) found objectionable: "this project of licencing crept out of the Inquisition"; "our Spanish licencing gags the English Presse"; censorship "will be a step-dame to Truth" (but "liberty is the nurse of all great wits"); and "Sometimes 5 Imprimaturs are seen together dialogue-wise in the Piatza of one Title page, complementing and ducking each to other with their shav'n reverences." Milton puns on "the pure conceit of an Imprimatur," suggests that censorship is a nasty drug administered forcibly "through the pipe of a licencer," and mobilizes dislike of monopolies or official controls⁸ in trading, against the licensors:

Truth and understanding are not such wares as to be monopoliz'd and traded in by tickets and statutes, and standards. . . . What is it but a servitude like that impos'd by the Philistims, not to be allow'd the sharpening of our own axes and coulters, but we must repair from all quarters to twenty licencing forges.

On the other hand, in addition to the sustained connections between the Deity and books and "Truth," already mentioned, books are seen as desirable things; precious essences preserved in a vial; "meats and viands"; "usefull drugs and materials wherwith to temper and compose effective and strong med'cins, which man's life cannot want."

Personification is also used effectively to demonstrate the futility of censorship. How can licensors hope to stop the prattle of violins and guitars or supervise "what lectures the bagpipe and rebbeck reads"? In addition, the admirable "And who shall silence all the airs and madrigalls that whisper softness in chambers?" hints that censors would try to shatter the intimacy of the home. Noteworthy, too, is the personification of "a blank vertue, not a

pure" (accompanied by a slight personification of vice), with its clear visual image of "a fugitive and cloister'd vertue" slinking out of the race and with the apt closing reference to Spenser's "Bower of Bliss."

A variation on personification provides a sharp and amusing piece of satire about the busy merchant who resigns "the whole warehouse of his religion" to his chaplain and "makes the very person of that man his religion." A good deal of the effect here is gained by an adroit use of images and terms drawn from commerce.⁹ This theme is continued in the next paragraph, and commerce again provides images that forcefully convey Milton's scorn of the person whose religion is not "within himself" but is "a dividuall moveable"; who will not protest when it is decreed that nothing shall be "writt'n but what passes through the custom-house of certain Publicans that have the tunaging and poundaging of all free spok'n truth"; and who will cheerfully accept whatever style of religion is authorized, in order to concentrate on moneymaking and avoid the search for "Truth."

Milton is particularly hostile toward anyone who refuses to participate in the struggle between good and evil; and nearly all his more notable images are imaginative presentations of various aspects of this fundamental conflict. This can be seen in the graphic image of the Fall, part of a passage which blends some of the chief stylistic features of the work: homely wording,¹⁰ classical and biblical echoes,

⁸ This satiric juxtaposition of commerce and religion clearly implies a loathing of commercialized religion and a disdain of traders: "of these Sophisms and Elenchs of merchandize I skill not."

¹⁰ "The most striking effects of his prose are gained from the common, even homely, expressions" (Thompson, p. 9); see also J. H. Neumann, "Milton's Prose Vocabulary," *PMLA*, LX (1945), 114: "The foreign element of Milton's prose vocabulary is not, however, a more characteristic feature of his style than the native. Indeed, it is the latter which gives his prose its color and vigor, its homely flavour and, on occasion, its downright earthiness."

⁹ Milton, however, favors the suppression of certain people; there is relish behind the image of bishops baited down."

references to generation and growth, and "metaphysical" ingenuity in personification:

Good and evill we know in the field of this World grow up together . . . those confused seeds which were impos'd on Psyche as an incessant labour to cull out, and sort asunder, were not more intermixt. It was from out the rinde of one apple tasted, that the knowledge of good and evill as two twins cleaving together leapt forth into the World.

Images with distasteful associations (slavery, episcopacy, superstition, garbage, freezing-cold) are cleverly molded to convey the spiritual deadness ("that triple ice clung about our hearts") which follows censorship and an avoidance of the purifying struggle between truth and error:

. . . dull ease . . . and obedient unanimity . . . would starch us all into . . . a stanch and solid peece of frame work as any January could freeze together . . . [and] I fear yet this iron yoke of outward conformity hath left a slavish print upon our necks; the ghost of a linnen decency yet haunts us . . . we may . . . fall again into a grosse conforming stupidity, a stark and dead congelment of wood and hay and stubble fore't and frozen together.

The same struggle is set forth in images of fruitfulness and blight. "Wise and faithful labourers" (i.e., free statesmen and writers) are "planting law and civility and faith" in "a towardly and pregnant soile" and will produce "a flowry crop of knowledge and new light" so long as "an oligarchy of twenty ingrossers" does not "bring a famin upon our minds again, when we shall know nothing but what is measur'd to us by their bushel." But, because wheat and tares grow together, all that flourishes is not necessarily good: "the Episcopall arts begin to bud again" and must be tempered by the drugs, the "working mineralls" of "Truth." Again censorship is to "be held a dangerous and suspicious fruit" because of "the tree that bore it"—the Papacy.

Body images are used in a similar way. The well-being of a Christian people who have cast off "the old and wrincl'd skin of corruption" (i.e., sin and the episcopacy) is described in terms of a healthy body. Furthermore, the "infection of heathen writers" and the "contagion that foreign books infuse" cannot be overcome by the "cautelous enterprise of licencing" but can be converted into "effective and strong med'cins" by free scholars.

As might be expected in a work by Milton, the archetypal images, "Light=Truth" and "Darkness=Error," are used. There is a good example in the passage beginning: "We boast our light," in which images of "sun / light / knowledge" and of "Zwinglius and Calvin / blazing beacons / Reformation" make the point that light and "Truth" were not given merely to be gazed upon (an act which produces blindness, physical and spiritual) but for use, "to discover onward things" (i.e., further "Truth"). One notes how the idea¹¹ ("Truth") is blended with the image (sun, light, blazing beacon); the cosmic force (sun) with the man-made (blazing beacon); and the general ("Truth") with the particular (Zwinglius and Calvin and the Reformation). Later the impression of blindness, "eyes blear'd and dimm'd," suggests that "Truth" is not always recognizable. Such widely used images as light, sun, and darkness require very skilful handling, but Milton's treatment is never commonplace: freshness is gained by the homely: "Yet when the new light which we beg for shines in upon us, there be who envy, and oppose, if it come not first in at their casements." The best image of light comes in the passage describing "a noble and puissant Nation." Here the obvious metaphor of strong-man=nation gains unique force from the notion of a Titanic form in repose roused by the call of duty

¹¹ Coleridge, *loc. cit.*

¹² See also
ning "Whe

and from the links with Samson, whose locks, one notes, are free and (therefore) invincible (not having been shorn by licensors?). Distinction, however, comes most of all from the associations of magnificence surrounding the "Eagle muing her mighty youth." Here the highest aristocrat, glowing with virility and comprehending and radiating the searching light of complete "Truth," is contrasted with the slavish mob, gabbling stupidly and longing only to be veiled from "Truth" in twilight.

The idea (precluding censorship) of the inevitable and enduring tension between "truth-goodness" and "error-evil" (which alone can foster spiritual growth), set forth imaginatively in the personifications and in the groups of images here mentioned, reaches its fullest expression in the images derived from war. This is natural: there are classical and biblical precedents for seeing this conflict in terms of a clash of armies; and the Civil War, presumably, offered plenty of material for images of strife. For example, the account of "a City . . . besieg'd and blockt about, her navigable river infested, inrodes and incursions round" is probably based on Milton's experience.¹² The image (a) praises parliament; (b) describes London, preparing to withstand the enemy—the Royalists; (c) implies that the fortress of "Truth" is resolutely manned by free scholars eager to repulse the enemy—"Error." The opposition of 'Parliament/unrestricted authorship'/"Truth" against 'Royalists/licensing'/"Error" is quite in accord with the whole work. A similar evocation of the war of "Truth" against "Error" in terms of the war between parliament and king is observable in the description of "a vast City of refuge, the mansion house of liberty." A further example of Milton's poetic method of

giving concreteness to mental processes is noticeable in the image of "our small divided¹³ maniples cutting through at every angle of his ill-united and unweildy brigade" which vividly contrasts the resource of free sects with the sluggishness of conformity.¹⁴ Likewise, the belief that the Christian society can be best fostered by the interaction of free, independent inquirers is bodied forth memorably in the image of the building of the temple of the Lord. Each man (and sect) has a different task and "perfection consists in this, that out of many moderat varieties and brotherly dissimilitudes that are not vastly disproportionall arises the goodly and the gracefull symmetry that commends the whole pile and structure."

Milton is fond of siege imagery. The plot of licensing will put us to incredible loss and detriment, "more then if som enemy at sea should stop up all our hav'ns, and ports, and creeks, it hinders and retards the importation of our richest Marchandize, Truth." The single endeavor of licensing, however, "would be but a fond labour; to shut and fortifie one gate against corruption, and be necessitated to leave others round about wide open."¹⁵ Moreover, so long as his rear and flanks are not guarded by a licenser, a clergyman¹⁶ will be forced to keep his mental and spiritual powers mobilized because of the constant danger of assault from a free, bold book. Finally, a neat play on double meaning makes the point that the knowledge possessed by a Christian is "armor enough against one single enchiridion, without the castle St. Angelo of an Imprimatur."

Apart from the personifications, the

¹² Branches grown out of a firm root (p. 343).

¹³ "The forc't and outward union of cold, and neutrall, and inwardly divided minds" (p. 339).

¹⁴ P. 317. The same idea and image occur again on p. 328.

¹⁵ Who "is at his Hercules pillars in a warm benefice" (p. 335).

¹⁶ See events of November, 1642, and sonnet beginning "When the assault was intended to the city."

war images are the only ones in *Areopagitica* that are at all extended, and they are never very complex. They are usually a clear elaboration of some equivalence (not far-fetched) rather than a Shakespearean compression of several diverse images and sensations. Milton normally favors a simple metaphor or simile. There are some good examples of these in the group taken from daily life. The gruff jocularity that lurks in *Areopagitica* compares the attempts of the licenser to "the exploit of that gallant man, who thought to pound up the crows by shutting his Parkgate." A book with an imprimatur is like "a punie with his guardian" and "an acute reader upon the first sight of a pedantick licence . . . will . . . ding the book a coits distance from him." And the aroma of the London streets of the time is behind the pungent expression of the notion that the people are not so unprincipled and unedified "that the whiffe of every new pamphlet should stagger them out of their catechism and Christian walking." These and similar images not only give distinctive color and vivacity to the writing but, by their accuracy and homeliness, help to connect the work firmly to the life of every day.

Classical and biblical allusions are used (as we have seen) to fill out a personification or image or as simple similes: "as out

of Sion," "as the prophesie of Isaiah was," "cry out as Pirrhys did," "as . . . when Rome was nigh besieg'd by Hannibal."

Although images occur throughout and are plentiful toward the end, *Areopagitica* is not crammed with imagery. At some stages (e.g., the opening pages and the historical survey) Milton makes little use of figurative language. Yet the memorable passages (the ones usually quoted as illustrations of the splendor and power of Milton's argument) are those charged with imagination. Moreover, imagination, by means of personification and reiterative imagery, diffuses a tone and spirit of unity,¹⁷ creating the pervading idea of the humanity and divinity of books and "Truth" and suffusing the whole with the atmosphere of conflict, until the appeal against censorship is felt to be not a mere question of expediency but a matter of principle, a vital part of the unceasing struggle between good and evil. Milton's method, then, is poetic; he universalizes the particular, evoking vividly and accurately the individual state,¹⁸ and at the same time transfiguring it, so that the wider, enduring significance shines through.

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¹⁷ Coleridge, *loc. cit.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

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THE PENITENT RAKE IN RESTORATION COMEDY

DAVID S. BERKELEY

I

THE penitent rake was a familiar stock character in Restoration drama. The number of these characters in the comedy of the period may be tentatively set at twenty-three.¹ From this number certain dubious repentances, like that of Truman, Jr., in Cowley's *The Cutler of Coleman-Street*, have been excluded. Truman, to be sure, repents in the fifth act, but his "villainy" consists in nothing more than having for a time been suspi-

cious of Lucia's virtue. Rakes rather than villains are the subject of this paper. Consequently, penitent villains like Francisco in Richard Rhodes's *Flora's Vagaries* and Don Lewis in Davenant's *The Man's the Master* have no place in the following discussion. Penitent female characters like Losana in Bailey's *The Spightful Sister* and Mrs. Lovely in Crowne's *The Married Beau; or, the Curious Impertinent* are, of course, excluded from this consideration of repentant rakes. These twenty-three conversions in Restoration comedy include such brief repentances as Sir Feeble Fainwou'd's in Mrs. Behn's *The Lucky Chance; or, an Alderman's Bargain* and such prolonged affairs as Bellamour's repentance in Granville's *The She-Gallants*. These repentances include such commercialized exhibitions as that of Bevis, in Dilke's *The City Lady; or, Folly Reclaim'd*, who repents on the promise of having his annuity trebled and his debts paid, and such airy, "platonic" conversions as Worthy's in Vanbrugh's *The Relapse; or, Virtue in Danger*. In every instance, however, the rake is represented as a rake, and consequently repents of sexual irregularities and, usually, of railing at constant love. Along with sexual irregularities, drunkenness, wasting of money, and riotous living are naturally included. Loveless, in Cibber's *Love's Last Shift*, for example, has been wandering about the Continent for seven years in pursuit of wine, women, and song. There are, to be sure, many accidental differences among these rakes, such as, for example, heaviness or lightness of tone; but in every

¹ The list includes: Don Ferdinando in Thomas Porter, *The Carnival* (1664); Clearcus in Sir William Killigrew, *Pandora; or, the Converts* (1665); Prince Frederick in Aphra Behn, *The Amorous Prince; or, the Curious Husband* (1671); Antonio in Aphra Behn, *The Dutch Lover* (1673); Hazard in Anon., *The Mistaken Husband* (1675); Ramble in John Crowne, *The Country Wit* (1675); Tibullus in John Smith, *Cytherea; or, the Enamouring Girdle* (1677); Mr. Thomas in Thomas Durfey, *Trick for Trick; or, the Debauch'd Hypocrite* (1678); Welford in Thomas Durfey, *Squire Oldsapp; or, the Night-Adventurers* (1678); Beverly in Thomas Durfey, *The Virtuous Wife; or, Good Luck at Last* (1680); Carlos in Aphra Behn, *The False Count; or, a New Way To Play an Old Game* (1682); Sir Feeble Fainwou'd in Aphra Behn, *The Lucky Chance; or, an Alderman's Bargain* (1687); Belfond, Jr., in Thomas Shadwell, *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688); Sir William Rant and Wildfire in Thomas Shadwell, *The Scowlers* (1691); Polidor in John Crowne, *The Married Beau; or, the Curious Impertinent* (1694); Loveless in Colley Cibber, *Love's Last Shift; or, the Fool in Fashion* (1696); Bellair in Thomas Dilke, *The Lover's Luck* (1696); Bellamour in George Granville (Lord Lansdowne), *The She-Gallants* (1696); Bevis in Thomas Dilke, *The City Lady; or, Folly Reclaim'd* (1697); Worthy in Sir John Vanbrugh, *The Relapse; or, Virtue in Danger* (1697); Roebuck in George Farquhar, *Love and a Bottle* (1699); Sir Harry Wildair in George Farquhar, *The Constant Couple; or, a Trip to the Jubilee* (1700).

My calculations are based upon an incomplete reading of Restoration comedy. Six of these comedies I have not been able to read: James Carlisle, *The Fortune-Hunters; or, Two Fools Well Met* (1689); Robert Codrington, *Ignoramus* (1662); John Leaner, *The Country Innocence; or, the Chamber-Maid Turn'd Quaker* (1677); Thomas Thomson, *The Life of Mother Shipton* (1660?) and *The English Rogue* (1668); Richard Flecknoe, *The Damoiselles a la Mode* (1667).

instance the rake delivers *in propria persona* a set speech promising amendment of life.

The great majority of the rakes repent in the fifth act. On the basis of the present selection of rakes, this stock character would seem to have become somewhat more popular during the last two decades of the Restoration, particularly in the years between 1696 and 1700. Seven of the ten penitent rakes in the comedy published between 1690 and 1700 appeared during the last five years of the century.² In this group of seven comedies were such plays as Cibber's *Love's Last Shift*, Vanbrugh's *The Relapse*, Farquhar's *Love and a Bottle* and *The Constant Couple*.

When the entire corpus of Restoration comedy is considered, one can observe a tendency on the part of the poets to domesticate the penitent rake. This stock character, one must remember, was ordinarily to be found in Restoration tragedy and romantic comedy. In such settings a poet had a license to disregard probability in characterization, but in settings of contemporary London a poet was obliged to pay some attention to "nature" in the delineation of prose-speaking English men and women. By the "domestication" of penitent rakes, therefore, I mean the removal of the trappings of the poetic drama from the repentance speech itself and its context. A borderline character like Roebuck, in Farquhar's *Love and a Bottle*, will serve to illustrate the process of domestication. Throughout this play, which is set in contemporary London, Roebuck speaks in prose. He occasionally mocks some of the characteristic attitudes of Restoration tragedy and romantic comedy.³ However, his repentance, which occurs in the last lines of the play, is couched in elevated blank verse, concluding with two heroic

couplets. It should not escape remark that Roebuck feels during the course of the play some few twinges of conscience occasioned by his heartless treatment of Lanthé, whom he loves in spite of his contempt for the attitudes and posturings of the romantic style of courtship.⁴ Roebuck's conversion in the concluding lines of the play is not perhaps so sudden and unexpected as, for example, the repentance of Tibullus in Smith's *Cytherea; or, the Enamouring Girdle*. Nevertheless, it is highly unnatural for Roebuck to speak in verse reminiscent of romantic comedy; it is, in fact, the sort of thing that he ridiculed earlier in the play as a "plaguy romantic humour."⁵ In view of Roebuck's unnatural elevation in the last lines of the comedy, it is difficult to regard him as a thoroughly domesticated character. The speech of repentance is, it seems to me, the touchstone by which this question of domestication should be decided. Roebuck, then, and Sir Harry Wildair of Farquhar's *The Constant Couple*, who closely resembles Roebuck, despite their manifest realism, are not, I think, to be regarded as sentimental characters. The audience could, I believe, easily recognize that both plays are concluded in the romantic vein. Farquhar may, indeed, be charged with falsifying the characterization of Roebuck and Wildair, for these realistic characters have been violently transformed into creatures of romantic comedy in the concluding

² Cf. George Farquhar, *Love and a Bottle* (1699), Act III, scene 1 (*Dramatic Works*, ed. A. C. Ewald [1892], I, 50); also, Act V, scene 1 (p. 96).

All first editions of Restoration plays are listed in the following manner: John Smith, *Cytherea; or, the Enamouring Girdle* (1677), Act I (p. 6). First citations of collected works list editors' names and dates of their publications, as above in the reference to Farquhar. Subsequent citation of collected works omits editors' names and dates of their publications. Place of publication is London unless otherwise noted.

⁴ George Farquhar, *Love and a Bottle* (1699), Act V, scene 1 (*Dramatic Works*, I, 100).

⁵ *Ibid.*, Act V, scene 1 (p. 96).

² See n. 1.

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ing moment of their respective settings. Since Roebuck and Wildair throw off that external realism that clothes sentimental characters, they and similar figures are excluded from the following list of domesticated penitent rakes.

Neither of the two penitent rakes in Restoration comedy of 1660-69 is domesticated. During the decade 1670-79, two of seven penitent rakes speak in prose in a setting of contemporary London.⁶ During the decade 1680-89, three of four penitent rakes speak in prose in a similar setting.⁷ During the period 1690-1700, six of ten rakes speak in prose in similar circumstances.⁸ Thus it may be seen that, on the basis of the present selection of characters, there is an increasing tendency during this period to tame the somewhat incredible character of the penitent rake by lending him the realistic class limitations, settings, costumes, and modes of speech of the comedy that purported to "correct" current vices and follies.

Since the conversion of the repentant rake ordinarily occurred toward the end of the last act, he was not on stage long enough in his glorified state to turn his new character slowly around so that the audience could view him from all angles. Nevertheless, a few generalizations may be hazarded with respect to some typical attitudes and postures of the reformed rake. For one thing, it was common for the rake to assume the posture of kneeling if

he delivered his speech of repentance to his father, wife, or mistress. Tears were not unknown upon this solemn occasion. Thus Sir William Rant kneels before his father in Shadwell's *The Scourers*,⁹ and Mr. Rant embraces and weeps over his son. Mr. Rant manages, however, unlike Old Bookwit in a similar situation in Steele's *The Lying Lover; or, the Ladies Friendship* (1704), to refrain from swooning.¹⁰ Another characteristic of the reformed rake was his sententiousness. During his short stay upon the stage, he delivered a surprising number of edifying maxims on such subjects as the pleasures of virtue, the joys of married bliss, the power of women to uplift and purify, and the senseless fopperies of the town. The reformed rake sometimes exhibited the makings of an attitude of temperamental superiority not unlike that of the distressed heroine. Beverly, for example, in Durfey's *The Virtuous Wife; or, Good Luck at Last*, concludes his speech of repentance with a smug reminder addressed

⁶ Thomas Shadwell, *The Scourers* (1691), Act V, scene 1 (*Complete Works*, ed. Montague Summers [1927], V, 138). For some other examples, see Bellamour's kneeling in penitence before Angelica in George Granville (Lord Lansdowne), *The She-Gallants* (1696), Act V (p. 68); Don Ferdinando's kneeling before Beatrice as he pleads for forgiveness in Thomas Porter, *The Carnival* (1664), Act IV, scene 1 (p. 53); Loveless' kneeling before Amanda in the act of repentance in Colley Cibber, *Love's Last Shift; or, the Fool in Fashion* (1696), Act V (*Dramatic Works* [1760], I, 80); Belfond, Jr.'s, kneeling before his father in repentance in Thomas Shadwell, *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688), Act V (*Dramatic Works*, IV, 279); Worthy's kneeling before Amanda in the posture of repentance in Sir John Vanbrugh, *The Relapse; or, Virtue in Danger* (1697), Act V, scene 4 (*Complete Works*, ed. Bonamy Dobrée and Geoffrey Webb [1927], I, 92); Frederick's kneeling before Clorinda in penitence in Aphra Behn, *The Amorous Prince; or, the Curious Husband* (1671), Act V, scene 3 (*Works*, ed. Montague Summers [1915], IV, 206); Antonio's kneeling before Ambrosio in token of repentance in Aphra Behn, *The Dutch Lover* (1673), Act V, scene 1 (*Works*, I, 321); Ramble's kneeling before Christina to express repentance in John Crowne, *The Country Wit* (1675), Act V (*Dramatic Works*, ed. James Maidment and W. H. Logan [Edinburgh, 1874], III, 125).

¹⁰ Sir Richard Steele, *The Lying Lover; or, the Ladies Friendship* (1704), Act V (p. 59).

⁶ Ramble in John Crowne, *The Country Wit* (1675); Welford in Thomas Durfey, *Squire Oldsapp; or, the Night-Adventurers* (1678).

⁷ Beverly in Thomas Durfey, *The Virtuous Wife; or, Good Luck at Last* (1680); Sir Feeble Fainwou'd in Aphra Behn, *The Luckey Chance; or, an Alderman's Bargain* (1687); Belfond, Jr., in Thomas Shadwell, *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688).

⁸ Loveless in Colley Cibber, *Love's Last Shift; or, the Fool in Fashion* (1696); Bellair in Thomas Dilke, *The Lover's Luck* (1696); Bellamour in George Granville (Lord Lansdowne), *The She-Gallants* (1696); Bevis in Thomas Dilke, *The City Lady; or, Folly Reclaim'd* (1697); Worthy in Sir John Vanbrugh, *The Relapse; or, Virtue in Danger* (1697).

to the world at large: "let our union teach the Wild, Roving, and inconstant World, how they should Live and Love, my dearest Creature."¹¹

The conversion of a character was not, to be sure, an innovation of Restoration drama. The fifth-act conversions in English domestic tragedy until the closing of the theaters (1642) were designed to dramatize popular religious views by presenting a sinner seeking in his "scaffold speech" to win not earthly but divine forgiveness.¹² Conversions had been employed many times before 1660 to effect the happy ending suitable to comedy. Shakespeare had used this device in *As You Like It* and elsewhere. Shirley, Beaumont, and Fletcher had used conversions in their plays. There was nothing special in the motivation of most of these conversions, which were nothing more than a brave device to achieve a happy ending by

subjecting a character to a somewhat improbable transformation. There are some conversions of this sort in Restoration comedy. Although these ordinary dramatic conversions transform a number of rakes, they present nothing of interest by way of motivation. Consequently, conversions of this sort are here neglected.¹³

The remaining conversions, of which there are seventeen, are likewise notable for their improbability. The modern reader is simply not prepared by way of suggestion and therefore cannot regard these conversions as anything but artifice. The transformation of most rakes in Restoration comedy occurs without previous warning somewhere in the last act. Let us, for example, consider the repentance of Tibullus in John Smith's *Cytherea; or, the Enamouring Girdle*. Tibullus has been trying to seduce Mariana by waxing eloquent in the *carpe diem* vein:

Now blushing thoughts of honor lay aside:
For cursed time is imminent at hand
When your sleek Linnen-covering call'd a Smock
Will not invite a Student in loves morals
To lay it on his Knee—then—now or never
Hold fast the lock of time.—Will nothing move?

MAR. Yes—if you banish lust, and sue for love.

TIB. Tempt me no more, voluptuous Appetite,
Go—seek another mansion to inhabit
With thy licentious train, this room I vow
A dedicated fane to Mariana
For my conversion: penitence shall hallow
And expiate her Temple till it be
Within as innocent and white as she.¹⁴

*His Courtship
proves
honourable
on a
suddain.*

¹¹ Thomas Durfey, *The Virtuous Wife; or, Good Luck at Last* (1680), Act V (p. 64).

¹² Cf. Henry Hitch Adams, *English Domestic or, Homiletic Tragedy 1575 to 1642* (New York, 1943), pp. 185–86. Mr. Adams points out that these conversions are improperly called "sentimental."

¹³ Frederick, the noble rake of Mrs. Behn's *The Amorous Prince; or, the Curious Husband* (1671) (*Works*, Vol. IV), repents only when Curtius confronts him with his sins (Act V, scene 3 [pp. 204–5]). Thomas, in Durfey's *Trick for Trick; or, the Debauch'd Hypocrite* (1678), Act V (p. 63), unaccountably turns from his intrigues to an edifying speech on the utility of marriage in the last lines of the play. Welford, in Thomas Durfey, *Squire Oldsapp; or, the Night-Adven-*

turers (1679), Act V, scene 2 (p. 57), agrees to give up his debauchery in order to marry Sophia for her £6,000. Sir Feeble Fainwou'd, the elderly rake of Mrs. Behn's *The Lucky Chance; or, an Alderman's Bargain* (1687) (*Works*, Vol. III), repents after being frightened by the ruse of Bellmour's ghost (Act V, scene 2 [pp. 282–83]; Act V, scene 7 [p. 275]). Belfond, Jr., in Thomas Shadwell, *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688), Act V (*Complete Works*, IV, 279), simply gives "a long farewell to the Vanity and Lewdness of Youth." Bevis, an elderly rake in Thomas Dilke, *The City Lady; or, Folly Reclaim'd* (1697), Act V (p. 46), repents on promise of having his debts paid and his annuity trebled.

¹⁴ John Smith, *Cytherea; or, the Enamouring Girdle* (1677), Act II (p. 20).

This startling transformation, complete with its heavy stage direction, is in my opinion the most extreme example of its kind in Restoration comedy. To the modern reader Smith seems to wrench Tibullus as violently as a puppet. Yet, from the point of view of *précieuses*, there was nothing arbitrary in Smith's management of Tibullus. One moment a rampant rake, the next moment a whining lover—such was the *précieuse* view of human nature. Seventeen conversions in Restoration comedy and many more in Restoration tragedy may be adduced to demonstrate the popularity of this kind of conversion on the contemporary stage.

II

In Restoration drama the basis of conversion, according to *précieuses*, is the "platonic" idea that virtuous and beautiful women have within themselves a "charm," as it was often called, by which savages might be civilized and evil men reclaimed to virtue. This notion raised romantic idolatry of women to the highest pitch by giving them a function ordinarily reserved to the Deity. Lovers in Restoration tragedy and romantic comedy often referred to their mistresses in such terms of religious devotion as "saint" and "bright divinity." Dryden and Crowne, among other poets, used this idea as a compliment—undoubtedly the most exalted of Restoration compliments—in dedicating certain plays to illustrious ladies.¹⁵ Dryden's dedication of *The State of Innocence, and Fall of Man* furnishes an illustration of the complimentary use of this piece of watered-down platonism. Addressing "Her Royal Highness the Dutchess," he wrote

¹⁵ See John Crowne, dedication of *Calisto; or, the Chaste Nymph* (1675); John Crowne, dedication of *The Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus Vespasian* (1677); Edward Cooke, dedication of *Love's Triumph; or, the Royal Union* (1678).

You are never seen, but you are blest: and I am sure You bless all those who see You.

Thus, *Madam*, in the midst of Clouds, You reign in Solitude; and are ador'd with the deepest Veneration, that of Silence. . . 'Tis the Nature of Perfection to be attractive; but the Excellency of the Object refines the Nature of the Love. It strikes an impression of awful reverence. . . Mortality cannot bear it often: it finds them in the eagerness and height of their Devotion.

Moral Perfections are rais'd higher by you in the Softer Sex; as if Men were of too course a Mould for Heav'n to work on, and that the Image of Divinity could not be cast to likeness in so harsh a Metal.

. . . the Majesty of your Mind deters them [the beholders] from too bold approaches; and turns their Admiration into Religion.

In Restoration tragedy there are numerous variations upon this theme, which was exceedingly complimentary to the ladies. This fact helps us to explain why ladies preferred tragedy. "The excellency of the Object," as Dryden says, "refines the Nature of the Love." The more beautiful and virtuous a lady was, the greater her power to conquer and convert.

It is a safe assumption that many persons in the Restoration audience had wholly given up belief in magic. Nevertheless, the sound of enchantments, spells, and prodigies was by no means unfamiliar to their ears. Tate remarks that the spectators assembled to see *Brutus of Alba; or, the Enchanted Lovers* (1678) would hardly accept as authentic the witches and spells in which the former age believed.¹⁶ He makes an exception, however, for the charms of beauty. In Restoration drama there are numerous allusions to the "charms" of women in connection with the elevation of men from their brutish

¹⁶ Nahum Tate, prologue to *Brutus of Alba; or, the Enchanted Lovers* (1678). The best study that I have seen on superstitious credulity in England during the Restoration is Irene S. Douglas, "The Decline of the Occult and Supernatural in England, 1660-1740, with Particular Reference to Literature" (Brown University dissertation, 1936).

state.¹⁷ The seat of a lady's "charm" was her eyes. Thus Sir William Rant delivers the thesis of Shadwell's *The Scourers*:

The most compendious way of being wise,
Is to be Convert to a Ladies Eyes.¹⁸

Shadwell reaffirms this sentiment in the epilogue to this comedy when he addresses the "lady mothers" of the audience.

We show you how your vigorous Beams t'exert,
Young vicious men to Conquer and Convert.

Certainly this idea made a handsome Restoration compliment. How could one improve a compliment to a lady that informed her of the power of her goodness and the charm of her beauty instantly to transform a base sinner into an angel? Restoration ladies could fancy themselves as having the power that Leucasia claims, in the anonymous *The Folly of Priest-Craft*, when she says to Politico: "I am now come, like a true Romantick Lady, to free you from the Enchantment of your Error."¹⁹ It is not surprising that such a rhapsodical compliment should escape the bonds of poetic drama by entering the forms of English society. Such a transfor-

mation would not be too difficult if, as Mr. Tillyard suggests,²⁰ people in the seventeenth century felt no compelling urge to sort out the amount of scientific truth in their poetic beliefs. It is more remarkable that the idea of conversion by means of the "charming" influence of ladies has survived in modified form down through the supposedly unpoetic eighteenth century until our own time.

This conception of women was so unbearably high that it was risky, as some Restoration poets pictured the matter, for a lover to approach his mistress with "unhallowed thoughts." Thus Aleippus, in Mrs. Behn's *The Forc'd Marriage; or, the Jealous Bridegroom* (1671), soliloquizes about Erminia:

... She was all sacred, and that impious hand
That had prophanely touch'd her,
Had wither'd from the body.

—I lov'd her—I ador'd her, and could I,
Could I approach her with unhallowed thoughts.
—No, no, I durst not.—²¹

Women, in the conception of the poets, could bring rude, savage man to a state of polished elegance. Doria, in Henry Smith's *The Prince of Parma* (1699), rhapsodizes to Almira in that pretentious impersonal idiom sometimes characteristic of the whining style:

—Women, like fair *Almira*

Were form'd to Bless, and stamp Perfection
on us:

Man was, (at first), a rude unpolish't Mass,
Till Nature fram'd that Charming Creature,
Woman;

All kind, and soft, all tender, and Divine,
To mend our Faults, and mould us into Virtue;
And, by the Sweets of her refining Goodness,
Prepare our Taste for never ending Joys.²²

¹⁷ E. M. W. Tillyard, *Milton* (London, 1930), pp. 221-22.

¹⁸ Aphra Behn, *The Forc'd Marriage; or, the Jealous Bridegroom* (1671), Act V, scene 2 (p. 75). See also the anonymous *The Constant Nymph; or, the Rambling Shepherd* (1678), Act IV (p. 38).

¹⁹ Henry Smith, *The Princess of Parma* (1699), Act II, scene 2 (p. 14). See also Erato's song in Peter A.

¹⁷ For some examples, see Narcissa's remark that she will use no spells or charms but "this poor face" in Colley Cibber, *Love's Last Shift; or, the Fool in Fashion* (1696), Act I (*Dramatic Works*, I, 22); Sir John Winmore's compliment to Timandra concerning the power of her eyes to melt the heart of a savage in David Crauford, *Courtship a la Mode* (1700), Act III, scene 3 (p. 30); Herod's remark that Mariamne's charms may extinguish his anger in Samuel Pordage, *Herod and Mariamne* (1673), Act V, scene 2 (p. 52); Daila's remark that a lady's eyes can convert the savage heart in William Walker, *Victorious Love* (1698), Act I, scene 1 (p. 3); Courtly's remark that Melissa's charms have made vice ugly in David Crauford, *Love at First Sight* (1704), Act III, scene 2 (p. 33); Solon's testimony that he has been converted from his errors by the power of Leonissa's eyes in Martin Bladen, *Solon; or, Philosophy No Defense against Love* (1705), Act V (p. 72). See also Elkanah Settle, epilogue to *Love and Revenge* (1675); Katherine Phillips, "To Mr. Henry Lawes," *Poems* (1667), p. 19; Susannah Centlivre, epilogue to *Love at a Venture* (1706); *Female Tatler*, No. 62 (November 25-28, 1709).

¹⁸ Thomas Shadwell, *The Scourers* (1691), Act V (*Complete Works*, V, 148).

¹⁹ Anon., *The Folly of Priest-Craft* (1690), Act II, scene 1 (p. 18).

Abdelcador's soliloquy, in Settle's *The Empress of Morocco*, nicely summarizes the chief theme of love-and-honor tragedy:

Oh Charming Sex!—

How vast a Circle does thy Magick take?

The highest Spirits humblest Lovers make

All that Heroick Greatness, which but now

Made haughty Foes and stubborn Nations bow,

Turns Vassal to a Smile, a Looks disguise:

Who conquer Thousands are one Womans Prize.

Fate sets Commanding Beauty in their way,
Beauty that has more God-like Pow'r than they:

Love o're the Hearts of Yielding Heroes sports;
Who're Conquerours in Camps, are Slaves in Courts.²³

Woman had within her, according to these poets, a "charm" with sufficient virtue to forgive the blackest crimes in a trice and at the same time potent enough to confer upon the male penitent a new character, shining with the graces of moral perfection. A random example of this common idea may be found in Settle's *Love and Revenge*, where King Clotair repents

Motteux, *The Loves of Mars and Venus* (1696) (p. 3); Clairmont's remark that women such as Charlotte "rarifie by purest flames / The duldest Lovers thoughts and heart" in Thomas Porter, *The Villain* (1663), Act II (p. 29); Cyrus' remark that Panthea has melted his martial fury in John Banks, *Cyrus the Great; or, the Tragedy of Love* (1696), Act II (p. 16); Morat's observation that love first civilized mankind in Peter A. Motteux, *Beauty in Distress* (1698), Act II (pp. 18–19); Statira's soliloquy on the note that love can endure no blemishes in Samuel Pordage, *The Siege of Babylon* (1678), Act IV, scene 3 (p. 39); The King's remark that love turns sin to virtue in Roger Boyle (Earl of Orrery), *Allemira* (1702), Act IV (p. 33); Portia's remark that love sprouts only in noble minds in Charles Gildon, *The Roman Bride's Revenge* (1697), Act II, scene 2 (p. 15); Theamne's observation that love beats down pride in Sir Robert Stapylton, *The Tragedy of Hero and Leander* (1669), Act V (p. 41); Sir John's remark to Scowrer that only generous spirits can know honest love in David Crauford, *Courtship a la Mode* (1700), Act I, scene 1 (p. 3). See also Crowne's dedication "To her Grace the Dutchesse of Portsmouth," *The Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus Vespasian* (1677); John Banks, prologue to *The Unhappy Favourite; or, the Earl of Essex* (1682).

²³ Elkanah Settle, *The Empress of Morocco* (1673), Act II (p. 14).

of his sins under the influence of the beautiful Aphelia. Clotair whines:

But dear Madam in this state

Of Innocence, to which your Mercy has

Restored me, let me offer up a heart

To fair *Aphelia* for a Sacrifice:

I am a full and perfect Convert now.

Both Murderer and Ravisher repents:

My heart grown Virtuous and unspotted, now

Approaches you with Adoration, looks

With piety on what it once profaned.

Accept a Love, a Love so pure, so true,

Nothing but You could raise, nothing but You Reward.²⁴

Bellamira, in the anonymous *The Triumphs of Virtue* (1697), probably wins the palm in Restoration drama for the number of her conversions, the Duke crediting her with three by the fifth act.²⁵

It was apparently a conception of *précieuses* that a lady of beauty and virtue could work her "charm" upon a woman who possessed these qualities in an inferior degree. Athenais, for example, in Lee's *Theodosius; or, the Force of Love*, credits Pulcheria with her conversion in language that ill accords with the Christian baptism

²⁴ Elkanah Settle, *Love and Revenge* (1675), Act III, scene 2 (p. 39). For some other examples see Theocrin's speech to Arviola in Nahum Tate, *The Loyal General* (1680), Act III (p. 26); Ricardo's statement that his callow virtue will fall if Placentia leaves him in Peter A. Motteux, *Beauty in Distress* (1698), Act III (p. 24); Levan Dadian's plea to Homais to forgive him as he is about to die by his own hand in Mary Manley, *The Royal Mischief* (1696), Act V (p. 47); Polycastro's remark that Bellamira has stamped his soul with the image of divinity in Anon., *The Triumphs of Virtue* (1697), Act III, scene 1 (p. 32); the Duke's remark that he has brought an infidel to Bellamira for the purpose of conversion in the preceding play, Act IV (p. 40); Sebastian's remark that women breathe divinity into men's souls in Robert Gould, *The Rival Sisters; or, the Violence of Love* (1696), Act II (p. 13); Mahomet's remark that Abra's virtue has taught him to admire the beauties of the mind in Joseph Trapp, *Abra-Mule; or, Love and Empire* (1704), Act IV, scene 1 (p. 40). See also Katherine Phillips' poem entitled "To the Honoured Lady E. C." (*Poems* [1669], p. 63):

"But your bright sweetness if it but appear,
Reclaims the bad, and softens the austere."

²⁵ Anon., *The Triumphs of Virtue* (1697), Act V (p. 54).

that Athenais has just received. Athenais says to Pulcheria:

I am adopted yours; you are my Goddess,
That have new-form'd, new-moulded my Con-
ceptions,

And by the plat-form of a Work Divine,
New-fram'd, new-built me to your own de-
sires;

Thrown all the Lumber of my Passions out,
And made my heart a Mansion of perfection;
Clean as an Anchorites Grot, or Votaries Cell,
And spotless as the glories of his steps
Whom we far off adore.²⁶

If this method of conversion is to be found in numerous Restoration tragedies, we should naturally expect to find it in that part of Restoration comedy which was frankly an escape from reality rather than an attempt to "correct" the follies and vices of the time. Our expectations would then prove to be correct. Not a few Restoration rakes in romantic comedy are poetically elevated to an immediate moral perfection by the agency of virtuous and beautiful women. This idea appears early in Restoration comedy. It is the thesis, in fact, of Sir William Killigrew's comedy, *Pandora; or, the Converts* (1665):

Pandora tells, how vertuous Women may
Make vitious men, cast all their ills away.²⁷

In this play Cleareus has for more than four acts no other occupation than that of railing at love. In the fifth act Lindamira, a sort of "cunning" woman, undertakes to demonstrate the efficacy of her charm in encouraging constant love. A stage direction requires all persons to withdraw except Cleareus and Pandora. The stage direction continues:

... then is discover'd Pandora, and Cleareus
holding hands, and sitting on a Couch, a while

²⁶ Nathaniel Lee, *Theodosius; or, the Force of Love* (1680), Act III, scene 2 (p. 27).

²⁷ Commendatory verses signed "S. T." and addressed "To the Author of the Siege of Vrbin," prefixed to Sir William Killigrew, *The Siege of Urbin in Four New Playes* (Oxford, 1666).

silent, looking on each other; then Cleareus proffers to kiss that hand he holds, she puts him back with her other hand, and turns her face from him,—He sighes:—

CLE.: Turn not away those beautilous lights, have guided me to Heaven; nor look as if you were in pain, to see my heart thus chang'd, from a rude distraction, to an extasie of Bliss; from a deformed Satyr, with a confus'd Chaos of dark thoughts, and blacker actions, by your glorious Beauties, and brighter Virtues, new form'd into the Figure of a man, Emulating those Excellencies I admire in you:—Oh turn this way, and own what is your own Creation; by your perfections rais'd from what was worse then nothing, to something now, too worthy to be cast away; I should this happy hour believe my self were in *Elizium*; did not this fair, soft Hand, and those bright Eyes assure me I yet live; from whence some divine instinct, teaches my rude nature to adore, what I never understood before.²⁸

This play is obviously remote from the London of the Great Fire, for *Pandora* is set in "Syracutia," and its chief characters bear such names as Cleareus, Pandora, and Lindamira. In the never-never land of Syracutia anything might happen; its inhabitants were not bound by the usual customs and conceptions of Restoration Englishmen. This was a land of romance, a "fustian" land. If a woman could, by the use of a charm, instantly convert a deformed satyr into an angel, who could question such a proceeding? As Lamb says, one cannot indict a dream. Probability meant nothing whatever in Syracutia. In the poetic drama of the Restoration, such as tragedy and romantic comedy, this method of conversion was a pretty and innocent conceit. But throughout the period this pretty conceit was insinuating itself into creative writing that purported to "correct" and comment on the vices and follies of the times, into satiric come-

²⁸ Sir William Killigrew, *Pandora; or, the Convert*, Act V, in *Four New Playes*, p. 45.

dy²⁹ and dramatic prologues and epilogues as well.³⁰ For example, the advocacy of this method of conversion is the theme of Shadwell's *The Scourers* (1691) and of its epilogue as well. *The Scourers* is set in contemporary London, and its characters are thoroughly English. The medium of the comedy is prose except for some burlesque poetry *in medias res* and a rhapsodical flight in the concluding lines, where the two penitent rakes, Sir William Rant and Wildfire, confess that the "charms" of ladies' eyes have turned reprobates into angels. Shadwell had the greatest reputation of his day as an advocate of satiric comedy and as a caustic critic of current follies. He had attacked the romantic drama of his time more persistently than any other contemporary poet. When Shadwell states in the forms of satiric comedy the same thesis that Killigrew had supported in *Pandora*, a romantic comedy, it is clear that something portentous was occurring in satiric comedy. Romantic characters were begin-

ning to assume the garb of ordinary Englishmen, and London was beginning to look like Syracutia.

The business of precipitating the *précieuse* method of conversion into the framework of satiric comedy was a gradual process. It is folly, I think, to designate the date of the first instance of this method in satiric comedy, just as it is dangerous to find the origin of this method in any single romance, courtesy book, or similar source. Polidor's appeal to Camilla, in Crowne's *The Married Beau; or, the Curious Impertinent* (1694), exhibits this pretty conceit in transition between romantic drama and satiric comedy. Verse is employed within the framework of satiric comedy as Polidor whines:

Cruel young beauty, you are to this town
Like a cold spring; how many tender plants
Does your severity suppress and kill?
You spoil the growth of hundreds of young
sparks,

They languish, and will ne'er be perfect men.
You nip much blooming wit, we fear 'twill die.
Instead of sprouting upwards it shoots down
And now you check my budding piety.

I wou'd and shou'd be good if you were mine;
Virtue will then have all your charms to win
me,

And sin have no temptation to corrupt me.
When I'm possess'd of you, I've all I wish,
But you to new temptations cast me off;
Now if I sin, my sin be at your door.³¹

Farquhar, in *The Constant Couple*, shows a lively awareness that this idea belongs to Restoration poetic drama. Sir Harry has just ventured to lay hold of Angelica, when she breaks forth with this torrent:

What madness, Sir Harry, what wild dream
of loose desire could prompt you to attempt
this baseness? View me well. The brightness of
my mind, methinks, should lighten outwards,
and let you see your mistake in my behaviour.
I think it shines with so much innocence in my
face,

³¹ John Crowne, *The Married Beau; or, the Curious Impertinent* (1694). Act V (Dramatic Works, IV, 332).

²⁹ The case of Gripe in Powell's *The Cornish Comedy* is interesting. Gripe is a testy, hardboiled merchant who believes that young women are virtuous because they have not the power or opportunity to be otherwise. He derides Peregrine's romantic notion of the goodness of women as the foppiness of some "precious Author." Yet Gripe apparently believes in the power of feminine charms to reclaim vicious young men, for he tells Clarinda, his daughter: "Clarinda, you must now renew all your Charms, and strive by Words and Actions to reclaim Manley; Your attractive faculty hath force enough to reduce him" (George Powell, *The Cornish Comedy* [1696], Act III, scene 2 [p. 23]). For some other references, sympathetic and otherwise, to the idea that beautiful and virtuous women can reclaim men in comedy set in London, see Sir Charles Sedley, *The Mulberry-Garden* (1668), Act II, scene 1 (Works, II, 53); Sir George Etherege, *She Wou'd if She Cou'd* (1668), Act I, scene 1 (Dramatic Works, II, 94); Mary Pix, *The Innocent Mistress* (1697), Act I (p. 6); David Crauford, *Courtship a la Mode* (1700), Act III, scene 3 (p. 30); David Crauford, *Love at First Sight* (1704), Act I (p. 4). The play entitled *The Roving Husband Reclaim'd. A Comedy. Writ by a Club of Ladies, in Vindication of Virtuous Plays* (1706) is an attempt to satirize this vogue.

³⁰ See John Banks, prologue to *The Unhappy Favourite; or, the Earl of Essex* (1682); Thomas Shadwell, epilogue to *The Scourers* (1691) (Complete Works, V, 148); Hodgson's prologue to Mary Pix, *The False Friend; or, the Fate of Disobedience* (1699).

That it should dazzle all your vicious thoughts:
Think not I am defenceless 'cause alone.
Your very self is guard against yourself:
I'm sure, there's something generous in your
soul;

My words shall search it out,
And eyes shall fire it for my own defence.

SIR HAR. [*Mimicking*] . . . A million to one
now but this girl is just come flush from read-
ing the Rival Queens.³²

Yet Angelica is sympathetically depicted, and Sir Harry eventually succumbs to the "charming" influence that he found so ridiculous earlier in the play. In Vanbrugh's *The Relapse* the repentance of Worthy exhibits the *précieuse* method of conversion amid circumstances of almost complete domestication. Worthy has just made an unsuccessful attempt to seduce Amanda. She repels this amorous siege with a pretty little lecture on the sovereignty of the mind over sensual desire. She leaves, and Worthy soliloquizes:

Sure there's Divinity about her; and sh'as
dispens'd some portion on't to me. For what
but now was the wild flame of Love, or (to dis-
sect that specious term) the vile, the gross de-
sires of Flesh and Blood, is in a moment turn'd
to Adoration. The Coarser Appetite of Na-
ture's gone, and 'tis, methinks the Food of
Angels I require; how long this influence may
last, Heaven knows. But in this moment of my
purity, I cou'd on her own terms, accept her
Heart. Yes, lovely Woman; I can accept it.
For now 'tis doubly worth my Care. Your
Charms are much encreas'd, since thus
adorn'd. When Truth's extorted from us, then
we own the Robe of Vertue is a graceful
Habit.³³

Vanbrugh wrote this play with the express
purpose of treating Cibber's material in
Love's Last Shift from a realistic point of
view. [Loveless, it is true, relapses in *The*

Relapse, but Worthy, on the other hand,
rises to a state of purity far above that of
the reformed Loveless in *Love's Last
Shift*. Vanbrugh was conscious that
Worthy's conversion was too exalted to
harmonize with satiric comedy and enter-
tained some fear that *The Relapse* might
well be damned on this account.³⁴ The
success of this comedy attests the chang-
ing taste of the Restoration audience in
tolerating, perhaps even applauding, a
type of conversion that had appeared only
in tragedy and romantic comedy during
the first decade of the period. The fact is
that the idea of the potency of ladies to
conquer and convert vicious men passed
from the airy realms of poetry and ro-
mance into the thought of ordinary folk in
and about London. The idea turns up, for
example, in the *Female Teller* of 1709:

I thank'd the Colonel for this extraordinary
Character, and his good Opinion of our Sex,
and particularly for that preference given to
our Society; not that we had the Vanity to be-
lieve it due our selves, or arrogate those good
Effects arising from the Conversation of Wom-
en to our better Sense and Conduct in Com-
pany: But to do Justice to his Argument, I am
of Opinion those things he talks of, proceed
from the superiour Influence of the Sexes
Charms over the Vices and failings of Men,
when they are touch'd with the sensible Pas-
sion of Love, which commands them, and
rather which makes them as it were by Com-
pulsion or Necessity to obey the very Motions
of our Eyes. For no *Spaniel* is so suppliant a
Creature as Man, under the Power of Beauty,
which makes him change his very Nature, and
study by all Arts possible to become what he
imagines pleases or takes with her. Thus the
roughest Sea-Monster living, will soften his
Stern look, and smooth his furrow'd Brow, at
the very sight of a fair Captive, that he soon
admits his Conqueror: As if a Smile from Beau-
ty can do so much, how much more powerful

³² George Farquhar: *The Constant Couple*; or, a
Trip to the Jubilee (1700), Act V, scene 1 (*Dramatic
Works*, I, 210).

³³ Sir John Vanbrugh, *The Relapse*; or, *Virtue in
Danger* (1697), Act V, scene 4 (*Complete Works*, I, 93).

³⁴ Sir John Vanbrugh, *A Short Vindication of the
Relapse and Provok'd Wife, from Immorality and
Prophaneness* (*Complete Works*, I, 215).

must Woman be, assisted with all the Artillery of Flattery and gentle Love.³⁵

In Restoration comedy there would seem to be at least seventeen conversions of rakes in which the influence of women is to be noted as the efficient cause.³⁶ In some of these conversions there is specific mention of feminine "charms,"³⁷ but in most instances the exercise of magic is merely suggested. Six rakes converted to virtue by the employment of this method are decidedly sentimental,³⁸ although their speeches of repentance are not, to be sure, developed with equal rhetorical fullness. Four of these conversions are to be

found in comedy published in the last few years of the century. Moreover, five penitent rakes who are largely free from romantic trappings are to be found in the comedy of the 1690's. These figures indicate, I think, a tendency on the part of later Restoration poets to domesticate a theme that from 1660 to 1690 was generally regarded as suitable for tragedy and romantic comedy.

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in *Danger* (1697), Act V, scene 4 (*Complete Works*, I, 92-93); Roebuck in George Farquhar, *Love and a Bottle* (1699), Act V (*Dramatic Works*, I, 115); Sir Harry Wildair in George Farquhar, *The Constant Couple; or, a Trip to the Jubilee* (1700), Act V (*Dramatic Works*, I, 229).

³⁵ The following penitent rakes allude to the influence of feminine "charms": Clearchus in Sir William Killigrew, *Pandora; or, the Converts*, Act V (in *Four New Playes*, p. 46); Sir William Rant and Wildfire in Thomas Shadwell, *The Scourers* (1691), Act V (*Complete Works*, V, 148); Polidor in John Crowne, *The Married Beau; or, the Curious Impertinent* (1694), Act V (*Dramatic Works*, IV, 332); Bellamour in George Granville (Lord Lansdowne), *The She-Gallants* (1696), Act V (p. 68); Loveless in Colley Cibber, *Love's Last Shift; or, the Fool in Fashion* (1696), Act V (*Dramatic Works*, I, 81); Worthy in Sir John Vanbrugh, *The Relapse; or, Virtue in Danger* (1697), Act V, scene 4 (*Complete Works*, I, 93).

³⁶ Ramble in John Crowne, *The Country Wit* (1675), Act V (*Dramatic Works*, III, 124-25); Beverly in Thomas Durfey, *The Virtuous Wife; or, Good Luck at Last* (1680), Act V (p. 64); Bellamour in George Granville (Lord Lansdowne), *The She-Gallants* (1696), Act V (pp. 68-69); Bellair in Thomas Dilke, *The Lover's Luck* (1696), Act I (p. 5); Loveless in Colley Cibber, *Love's Last Shift; or, the Fool in Fashion* (1696), Act V (*Dramatic Works*, I, 80-81); Worthy in Sir John Vanbrugh, *The Relapse; or, Virtue in Danger* (1697) Act V, scene 4 (*Complete Works*, I, 92-93).

³⁵ *The Female Tatler*, No. 62 (November 25-28, 1709).

³⁶ Don Ferdinando in Thomas Porter, *The Carnival* (1664), Act IV, scene 1 (pp. 52-64); Clearchus in Sir William Killigrew, *Pandora; or, the Converts*, Act V (in *Four New Playes*, p. 45); Antonio in Aphra Behn, *The Dutch Lover* (1673), Act V, scene 1 (*Works*, I, 321); Hazard in Anon., *The Mistaken Husband* (1675), Act V (p. 70); Ramble in John Crowne, *The Country Wit* (1675), Act V (*Dramatic Works*, III, 124-25); Tibullus in John Smith, *Cytherea; or, the Enamouring Girdle* (1677), Act III (pp. 26-27); Beverly in Thomas Durfey, *The Virtuous Wife; or, Good Luck at Last* (1680), Act V (p. 64); Carlos in Aphra Behn, *The False Count; or, a New Way To Win Him* (1682), Act V, scene 1 (*Works*, III, 171); Sir William Rant in Thomas Shadwell, *The Scourers* (1691), Act V (*Complete Works*, V, 138-40, 148); Wildfire in the preceding play, Act V (pp. 145, 147); Polidor in John Crowne, *The Married Beau; or, the Curious Impertinent* (1694), Act V (*Dramatic Works*, IV, 332); Bellair in Thomas Dilke, *The Lover's Luck* (1696), Act I (p. 5); Bellamour in George Granville (Lord Lansdowne), *The She-Gallants* (1696), Act V (pp. 68-69); Worthy in Sir John Vanbrugh, *The Relapse; or, Virtue*

IDEAL COPY AND AUTHORITATIVE TEXT: THE PROBLEM OF PRIOR'S *POEMS ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS* (1718)

H. BUNKER WRIGHT

ALTHOUGH it is always important for an editor to know what comprises the "ideal copy" of any book on which he is working, he usually cannot assume that determination of this gives him, automatically, a text that is either "authoritative" or "correct." As bibliographers use the term "ideal copy," it denotes merely the most perfect state of a book as the publisher intended to issue it and does not guarantee the quality of the contents. Nevertheless, it sometimes happens that an author is known to have co-operated so actively in the printing of his book that the ideal copy can be taken to represent his intention as well as the publisher's. When such a book exists in variant states, the editor is doubly concerned to discover the one that is, from the bibliographical point of view, "ideally perfect" because he knows it will also be textually authoritative. This is the case with Matthew Prior's *Poems on Several Occasions*, published by Tonson and Barber in 1718.¹

Prior labored diligently to make this folio correct in all details as well as imposing in format. As early as July, 1717, he was worrying about the task of correcting his poems for the press.² By April, 1718, he had engaged as assistants two learned "colon and comma men," Humfrey Wan-

ley and Hilkiah Bedford; and sheets that had been checked by all three were being sent to the printer.³ They conferred on such minute points as the spelling of *Compliment*, and morning and night he was "plagued with commas, semicolons, italic and capital."⁴ It is impossible to determine from Prior's extant letters how much of this extraordinary care was devoted to the preparation of copy-text and how much to proofreading, but it is certain that both Prior and Wanley did correct proof, the latter even concerning himself with the printer's "filthy hooks, meagre letters and unequal lines."⁵ At least six months had been devoted to this "wretched work" by the end of September, 1718, when Prior could report that the book was "quite printed off."⁶ And there remained still more time for final correction by cancel before the volume was issued in March, 1719.

This was the last authorized edition before the poet's death less than three years later, and it seems obvious that for the poems contained in it (comprising not quite half Prior's literary production), it should offer the text he approved. Later editors have therefore turned to it with

¹ Prior to Wanley, April 5 and April 11, 1718, B.M. Harleian MS 3780, fols. 342, 344.

² Prior to Harley, May 1 [-12], May 22 [-June 2], and May 24 [-June 4], 1718, Historical MSS Commission, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Bath*, III (Hereford, 1908), 453-55. See also Prior to Swift, May 1 and May 29, 1718, *Correspondence of Swift*, III, 4-5, 8-9.

³ Prior to Harley, September 18 [-29], September 25 [-October 6], September 30 [-October 11], 1718, *Manuscripts of the Marquis of Bath*, III, 459-60.

⁴ Prior to Swift, September 25, 1718, *Correspondence of Swift*, III, 14-15.

¹ *POEMS / ON / SEVERAL OCCASIONS. / [rule] / [engraved plate, 105 X 159 mm.] / [rule] / LONDON: / Printed for JACOB TONSON at Shake-spear's-Head over against / Katharine-Street in the Strand, and JOHN BARBER upon / Lambeth-Hill. MDCCXVIII. [within double rules]*

² Prior to Swift, July 30 and August 24, 1717, *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, ed. F. E. Ball (London, 1910-14), II, 398-99, 401.

confidence, not suspecting the existence of many variant states, only one of which can represent Prior's intention. Even A. R. Waller, in constructing the only critical edition that has appeared to date, casually used the criterion of convenient size to choose a single copy to reproduce—a copy that the present study shows to have had at least sixty pages of corrupt text.⁷

The first scholar to notice that copies of the 1718 folio were not uniform was W. K. Chandler, who reported his discovery in *Modern Philology* in 1935.⁸ Because Chandler was more interested in calling attention to the problem than in solving it, he merely sampled parts of a few copies, mentioning as an excuse that the book contained over five hundred pages. What he found was that for many sheets there were two distinct settings with textual variations and that bound copies differed in the way in which the settings were combined. He conjectured that the whole volume had been set in duplicate, that only one of the settings was revised according to Prior's proof corrections, that both settings were printed from at the same time, and that the sheets were so hopelessly mixed in gathering that no two copies would agree except by accident. He also surmised that the setting which was closest to the text of earlier editions was the uncorrected one and that the setting exhibiting the largest number of variations from the earlier text was the one that represented Prior's final intentions most accurately.⁹

As the present study demonstrates, Chandler's hypotheses, based as they

were upon inadequate evidence, were wholly in error. But he was right as to the complexity and the importance of the problem: until it was solved, no modern edition could be certain of presenting Prior's poems in the form he wished preserved. Therefore, when Dr. Monroe K. Spears and I began preparation of a complete, critical edition of Prior's literary works,¹⁰ I undertook the necessary analysis of the 1718 folio. I have fully collated seventeen copies, including the two that Chandler owned, others that I know he used, and the copy that Prior had in his own library. I have also received reports on twenty-nine additional copies. As a result of this investigation, it is now possible to explain the situation that puzzled Chandler and to define the ideally perfect state of this book.

Most of the copies examined have the same collation and contents, regardless of their textual differences:

Collation: 2^r: π^2 A² a-c² d1 e-i² B-N²(\pm N2)
O-R²(\pm R1) S-X²(\pm X1) Y-4E²(\pm 4E2)
4F-4K²(\pm 4K1) 4L-4T²(\pm 4T2) 4U-6O²
[S1 signed]; 277 leaves, pp. [42] [1] 2-506
[some unnumbered] [6].¹¹

Contents: π 1^r blank, π 1^v plate, π 2^r title, π 2^v blank. A1^r-c1^v dedication *To . . . Earl of Dorset . . .*, signed *Mat. Prior*. c2^r-v *Preface*. d1^r-v *Postscript*. e1^r-i2^r *The Names of the Subscribers*. i2^v *Supplement*. B1^r-6N1^v *Poems on Several Occasions*. 6N2^r-6O2^v *Contents*.

Agreement with this ideal formula, therefore, does not in itself identify an ideal

¹⁰ To be published by the Clarendon Press as one of the "Oxford English Texts."

¹¹ The cancels often show no stubs and must be detected through irregularities in watermarks and register. Copy 15 has a unique cancel at e1. Since it is the only cancel that does not occur regularly in all copies with similar text, I cannot believe that it is a necessary part of the publisher's intention. Although both sides of the leaf are at least partially reset, the only significant change is the spelling of one subscriber's name as *Bedingfield* instead of *Bedingfeild*. Perhaps this correction was made in a single copy to appease the gentleman.

⁷ Matthew Prior, *Poems on Several Occasions*, ed. A. R. Waller (Cambridge, 1905), p. v. This was based on a copy of the 1718 edition that had incorrect text for Sigs. d1, B-M, N1, 2M, 3R, and 3Y. It may have had additional corruption in portions of the text not reproduced.

⁸ "Prior's *Poems*, 1718: A Duplicate Printing," *MP*, XXXII (1935), 383-90.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 388-89.

TABLE 1
SIMPLIFIED TABULATION OF TEXTS*

SIG.	SMALL—TRADE COPIES†							MEDIUM—SUBSCRIPTION COPIES†								LARGE—PRESENTATION†	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
7	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	B	B	B	a	a	a	a
A	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	B	B	B	B	a	a	a
a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	B	a	B	a	a	a	a
b	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	B	B	a	a	a	a
c	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
d	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	B	B	a	a	a	a	a	a
e	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
B-G	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	B	B	B	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
H	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	B	B	B	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
I-M	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	B	B	B	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
N	a/C1	a/C1	a/C1	a/C1	a/C1	a/C1	a/C1	B/C2	B/C2	B/C2	a/C2	a/C2	a/C2	a/C2	a/C2	a/C2	a/C2
O-Q	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	B	B	B	B	a	a	a
R	C/a	C/a	C/a	C/a	C/a	C/a	C/a	C/a	C/a	C/a	B	B	B	B	C/a	C/a	C/a
S-U	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	B	B	B	B	B	a	a
X	C/a	C/a	C/a	C/a	C/a	C/a	C/a	C/a	C/a	C/a	B	B	B	B	C/a	C/a	C/a
Y-2G	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	B	B	B	B	B	a	a
2H-2K	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	B	B	B	B	a	a	a
2L	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	B	B	B	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
2M	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	B	B	B	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
2N-2Q	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	B	B	B	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
2R	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	B	B	B	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
2S-2U	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	B	B	B	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
2X	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
2Y	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	B	B	B	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
2Z	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
3A	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
3B-3D	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
3E	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	B	B	a	B	a	a	a
3F-3G	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
3H	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	B	a	a	a
3I	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	B	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
3K	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	B	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
3L-3O	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	B	a	a
3P	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	B	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
3Q	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
3R	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	B	B	B	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
3S	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	B	B	B	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
3T-3X	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	B	B	a	a
3Y	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	B	a	a	a	a	a
3Z	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	B	B	a	a
4A-4D	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
4E	a/C	a/C	a/C	a/C	a/C	a/C	a/C	a/C	a/C	a/C	a/C	a/C	a/C	a/C	a/C	a/C	a/C
4F-4I	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
4K	C/a	C/a	C/a	C/a	C/a	C/a	C/a	Cb/a	Cb/a	Cb/a	Cb/a	Cb/a	Cb/a	Cb/a	Cb/a	Cb/a	Cb/a
4L-4S	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
4T	a/C	a/C	a/C	a/C	a/C	a/C	a/C	a/C	a/C	a/C	a/C	a/C	a/C	a/C	a/C	a/C	a/C
4U-4Z	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
5A-5Z	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
6A-6O	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a

* In order to keep the emphasis on the point being illustrated, the following variations that are not textually significant have been omitted. Setting *a* of the title-page displays some differences in spacing among copies of the small size. Copy 15 has an aberrant cancel at e1 (see n. 11). Copy 4 has had e2 torn out. The large copies, 16 and 17, have a complete resetting of Sig. 4L without the slightest change in text or accidentals; this is obviously not part of the series of reset sheets represented by *B* in the tabulation, but a special resetting probably necessitated by failure to machine large paper with the original setting or by damage to the sheets so machined. Copy 16 has two peculiarities attributable to the binder: cancellans 4K1 is misplaced after 4K2; the Vertue engraving of the Richardson portrait has been added facing A1.

† *a* = original setting; *B* = resetting to fill out edition; *C* = cancel.

copy.¹² The most important differences among the copies of this edition are to be found not in their makeup but, as Chandler realized, in the irregular distribution of two distinct page settings. Table 1 will make this clear.

In this table, each of the seventeen numbered columns presents the textual analysis of one of the copies I have exam-

ined.¹³ The symbol *a* stands for one of the

¹² Copies 8, 9, and 10, for instance, follow the formula, although they are textually corrupt. In fact, the only deviation from the formula that occurs with any frequency is lack of cancellation at R1 and X1 (as in copies 11-15), a situation that is due not to negligence but to the resetting of these signatures after the cancel had been completed.

¹³ Copies examined, with the numerals that identify them in the accompanying tabulation:

1. Cleveland Public Library, 821.51/P757
2. Huntington Library, 137533 (The Bridgewater Library copy, 26/E6)

settings of a signature and *B* for the other setting. A cancellans is represented by the letter *C*, and its position above or below a diagonal indicates whether the first or second leaf of a signature was replaced.

Several significant points of which Chandler was unaware are made immediately apparent by this tabulation. (1) There is a large portion of the volume for which there seems to have been but one setting, no occurrence of text *B* having been found after Sig. 3Z, i.e., in the last 240 pages. (2) Although text *B* appears somewhere in each of the eight copies of the medium "subscription" size grouped in the middle columns, there are no instances of it in the seven small "trade" copies listed in the left-hand columns or in the large "presentation" copies listed in the right-hand columns. (3) Even in the medium-sized volumes where text *B* does occur, it is for most signatures less common than the *a* text, and there is no signature for which some medium copy does not have text *a*. (4) In no instance were the *a* and *B* texts combined in a single signature by having a forme with one setting perfect a sheet that had been machined with the

other. (5) Some copies are regularly alike. The large copies do not differ from each other in any way. And the small copies differ from one another only in Sig. H, where the first three listed have the uncorrected state, lacking stanza numbers, which is represented in the table by *a1*, and the other four have the corrected state of the same setting, represented by *a2*.

Once the evidence is organized in this fashion, it points clearly not to "duplicate printing" but to a practice more familiar to bibliographers. We have here, almost certainly, an instance of resetting the early portion of a book when, during the course of printing, it was decided to increase the size of the edition. What is unusual about this case is, first, that the book was printed in three sizes, only one of which was affected by resetting, and, second, that the sheets printed from the resetting were mixed with the original sheets in a peculiar manner.

Fortunately, we have enough external evidence to help us reconstruct the probable history of what happened. From its inception, the 1718 folio was thought of as primarily a subscription edition. Pope, Gay, Arbuthnot, Swift, Erasmus Lewis, and many other friends started as early as January, 1717, to obtain subscribers on the terms of one guinea down and a second guinea to be paid on delivery of the volume.¹⁴ Their solicitation continued throughout that year and the next. In May, 1718, Prior told Swift that the deadline would be September 29,¹⁵ but actually he was still accepting subscriptions as late as January, 1719.¹⁶ Hence, when printing began in the spring of 1718, there was uncertainty as to the number of subscription

¹⁴ E. Lewis to Swift, January 12, 1716/17, *Swift to Archdeacon Walls*, March 30, 1717, *Correspondence of Swift*, II, 359-60, 381.

¹⁵ Prior to Swift, May 29, 1718, *Correspondence of Swift*, III, 8-9.

¹⁶ Hon. Mr. Bromley to Prior, January 19, 1718/19, *Longleat Prior MSS*, VII, 86; Prior to Bromley, February 4, 1718/19, *ibid.*, XIV, 212.

3. Vanderbilt University Library, S821.5/q.P95al/1718/(From the library of William Knox Chandler)

4. H. B. Wright, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, cop. 2 (From the library of Arthur E. Case)

5. Miami University Library, 826/P93/1718/cop. 1

6. Miami University Library, 826/P93/1718/cop. 2

7. Newberry Library, Y/185/.P9366

8. H. B. Wright, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, cop. 1

9. M. K. Spears, Vanderbilt University, cop. 1

10. J. A. Work, Stanford University

11. Vanderbilt University Library, S821.5/q.P95al/1718/cop. 3

12. Newberry Library, Wing +ZP/745/.T613 (Library of John M. Wing, 2023)

13. M. K. Spears, Vanderbilt University, cop. 2

14. University of Chicago Libraries, f./PR3640/.A2/1718

15. Vanderbilt University Library, S821.5/q.P95al/1718/cop. 2 (From the library of William Knox Chandler)

16. St. John's College, Cambridge, Bb.7.13 (Bequest from Matthew Prior)

17. Library of Congress, PR3640/.A1/1718/cop. 2 (Gift of J. A. A. J. Jusserand)

copies that would be required. Tonson and Barber, of course, knew how many copies of the trade size they wanted, and Prior knew how many of the presentation size he desired,¹⁷ but the number of medium-sized volumes needed was apparently underestimated. The original order may have been for as few as the eleven hundred copies that Tonson was to furnish without charge in return for the copyright to the poems;¹⁸ it was probably not for more than thirteen hundred.¹⁹

At first, there must have been only one setting of type, the one represented by *a* in the tabulation. After Prior and his friends had read the proof and after corrections had been made, this was used to machine three sizes of paper:²⁰ first, the

¹⁷ The number of trade copies may have been about a thousand. This is approximately half the number of medium copies eventually printed, and that is the proportion of small to medium among the 46 folios of which I have knowledge. There were probably no more than twenty-five of the largest size printed; Prior's correspondence does not reveal even this many instances of presentation, and search of the most likely libraries both in the United States and in England has brought to light only the two copies collated for this study.

¹⁸ The agreement between Prior and Tonson is described in G. Michelmores & Co.'s *Catalogue*, No. 33 (1942), Item 92, as containing these provisions: "Of the 2000 copies of this Subscription Edition on Royal Paper . . . 1100 were to be taken by Prior for the assignment of the Copyright, and he was to pay £900 to Tonson for the remainder." It is said to be signed by the poet and the publisher and witnessed by John Barber and Adrian Drift. I have been unable to trace this document to its present location, but I believe from the description that it must constitute a final settlement drawn up after the full edition had been printed, perhaps shortly before the books were issued.

¹⁹ In the subscription copies that have been analyzed, 62 per cent of the sheets in those sections affected by resetting are printed from the original setting. If the proportion in these copies is normal and if the edition ultimately was 2,000, the size of the original order would be indicated as 1,240.

²⁰ There has been much inaccuracy in reference to the three sizes, partly because copies have been trimmed in rebinding and partly because any one of the volumes seen by itself may look like a "large-paper" edition. These are the positive marks of distinction: the small size, with pages originally measuring at least 14 × 9 inches, has inner margins averaging 1½ inches and is printed on paper usually watermarked with the arms of the City of London; the medium size, with pages originally at least 18½ × 11½ inches, has

small size for the trade copies; then the medium size, "royal paper," for the subscribers; and, finally, the large size, "paper imperial and the largest in England,"²¹ to be used in presentation copies.²²

When printing had progressed through Sig. 3Z, however, it became apparent that additional subscription copies would be needed. For the rest of the book, consequently, there were printed from each forme sufficient sheets to supply at least the 1,790 volumes ultimately subscribed for, the new order probably being for 2,000 copies.²³ By this time there had already been printed not only 272 pages of the poems but also the title-page, all the preliminaries except the "Names of the Subscribers," and the cancellans for leaves R1 and X1. For all these pages the type had been distributed, and resetting was necessary to fill out the edition. It is this resetting that is represented by *B* in the tabulation.

The copy-text for this page-for-page resetting certainly consisted of the folio

inner margins averaging 1½ inches and is printed on paper usually watermarked with the arms of Strasbourg; the large size, with pages originally at least 20 × 14 inches, has inner margins of over 3 inches and is printed on paper watermarked with a fleur-de-lis on a crowned shield.

²¹ Prior to Lord Harley, November 30 [-December 11], 1717, *Manuscripts of the Marquis of Bath*, III, 450.

²² The order in which the three sizes were printed can be established in spite of the sparsity of press variants and the ambiguity of most that do occur. That the small copies were printed first is shown by the fact that some of them have the uncorrected state of Sig. H (see p. 236), and all of them have the uncorrected state of the cancellans in Sig. N (see p. 236). That the medium copies preceded the large ones through the press is proved by their showing no evidence of the violent disturbance of type which occurred in the inner forme of Sig. f while the large copies were being printed. Even those press variations that could be interpreted either as correction or as deterioration indicate that the medium size was, as we would expect, the second to be printed.

²³ See n. 18. It is possible, of course, that the size of the edition had at an earlier point been increased somewhat over the original order. This may explain why the table shows fewer examples of text *B* after Sig. 2Z than before.

sheets already printed, which were followed line for line except once in the prose "Dedication," where a transposition of words occasioned a single change in line break.²⁴ Where the original setting had false catchwords or omitted catchwords, the resetting naturally made the correction.²⁵ It also corrected three of the five unmistakable misprints in text *a*.²⁶ The other ways in which it differs from the original setting, however, indicate carelessness such as might be indulged in by a compositor who knew that he was setting for a mere fill-in that would not be proof-read by the author and would probably not be read against copy even in the shop. Of the 263 pages for which text *B* has been found, 43 display no variation in text, although the resetting is made obvious by the mixture of fonts for capital letters and for marks of punctuation. The other 220 pages contain a total of 853 variants. Half of these are in punctuation—the commas and colons over which Prior and his friends had worked so hard. Most of the others are in spelling, capitalization, and type style, concerning which Prior had also been particular.²⁷ A dozen of the differences are even more significant—omission, substitution, and transposition of words and changes from singular to plural—some of them creating obvious blunders.²⁸

²⁴ Sig. b1r, ll. 27–28 (see n. 28). This same transposition occurs, curiously enough, in the editions of 1711, 1713, and 1717, although there is no other evidence that any of them was here being used as copy.

²⁵ Pp. 3, 4, 65, 95, 128, 271.

²⁶ Errors in text *a* corrected by text *B*: p. 69, l. 8, comma at end of paragraph; p. 95, l. 11, "XII" for "XI"; p. 119, l. 20, period lacking at end of paragraph. On p. 86, l. 7, *B* attempts to correct *Lethe* by omitting the apostrophe instead of adding an *s*. On p. 2, l. 29, the error "Command" for "Commands" is copied by *B*.

²⁷ The engraved cuts, which were printed by separate impression, are the same in text *a* and text *B* except for the initial on p. [53]. The cast ornaments used as tailpieces differ on p. 97, and *B* displays an additional one on p. 18.

It is, of course, this reset text which exhibits the most numerous variations from the earlier editions on which Prior had based his copy-text for the original setting, variations that are due to careless typesetting, not, as Chandler supposed, to authorial correction.²⁹

It is probable that examination of more subscription copies would bring to light other examples of text *B* in those signa-

²⁸ The following readings identify the reset sheets. For each signature for which text *B* has been found, the first variant that distinguishes it is listed. For some signatures, a second entry calls attention to an especially important variant that occurs later. All references are to the recto of the first leaf unless otherwise noted, and all lines of type below the headline are counted.

*2r, l. 6: [the stem of *K* in "*Katharine*" is placed under the *t* of "Printed"] —A, ll. 7–8: when in the / Preface I declare; —a, l. 1: Inimitable —b, l. 1: right —b, ll. 27–28: Recitals of their own Affairs, or by their multiply'd Que- / stions about His; —d, l. 17: Work —d1r, l. 19: the Reader —B, l. 10: know'st Thou —C, l. 1: Pain; —D, l. 4: confest; —E, l. 7: makes; —F, l. 1: wand'ring —G, l. 5: O! —H, l. 2: believes; —H2r, l. 30: Travels —I, l. 6: Sovereign's —K, l. 14: Youth! —L, l. 23: GALLICE —M, l. 2: gay, and wet —N1r, l. 8: o'er His —O, l. 12: His Sorrow —O1r, l. 23: warbling Nymph —P, l. 8: [engraved initial shows 3 cupids] —P, l. 20: Song; —Q, l. 19: *Namur*; —R, l. 5: *Eke's* and *Also's* —S, l. 5: Would —S2r, l. 11: wast sent —T, l. 5: Trumpets hear, —U, l. 2: there —X, l. 9: canst —Y, l. 24: *SUSAN*; —Z, l. 13: could You —2A, l. 18: God; —2B, l. 2: dy'd To-day; —2C, l. 7: shows —2C2r, l. 5: Joy of Youth, —2D, l. 1: would —2E, l. 4: extremely —2E, l. 6: at Wit and Will; —2F, l. 7: *Anecdotes* —2F2r, l. 23: Twenty others —2G, l. 4: carted; —2H, l. 3: modern —2I, l. 8: To-day, To-morrow —2K, l. 6: read, and ride, and plant, —2L, l. 4: melancholy State, —2M, l. 6: *ultima vita*, —2N, l. 4: Public —2O, l. 4: belov'd —2P, l. 6: *Annals* —2Q, l. 9: join'd:) —2Q1r, l. 11: Monarchs —2R2r, l. 12: fecundam —2S1r, l. 3: *ROMA*; —2T2r, l. 3: queque recuset —2U2r, l. 13: *Ætas*; —2Y, l. 20: Elegit Dominum, —3A, l. 12: to None, —3E, l. 18: JOHN unhappily thought —3H, l. 4: your Here up —3I, l. 6: and glad; —3K, l. 2: Waves for ever flow —3L, l. 5: Till —3M, l. 20: imbrud; —3N1r, l. 4: Sails; —3O1r, l. 24: Fame, —3O2r, l. 5: mangle or disjoint —3P, l. 1: Youth and —3Q, l. 14: flow; —[3R], l. 10: SPENCER'S Style. —3S, l. 4: SPENCER, —3T, l. 27: our General's —3U, l. 9: hopes than fears —3X2r, l. 23: MARLBOROUGH —3Y1r, l. 16: Safe and humble —3Z, l. 5: extremely Sick?

²⁹ For the poems previously collected, the basic copy-text was apparently the 1709 (first authorized) edition. The false catchwords on pp. 4 and 128 of text *a* could have come only from this volume. The relation of the various early editions and their relative authority in regard to "accidentals" in the text is, however, a problem to be dealt with in a separate study.

tures before Sig. 3Z, where the table shows only text *a*.³⁰ It is less likely, but still possible, that some examples might be found later in the volume. The search for additional reset sheets is, however, hardly worth while, since it is now clear that they have no place in an ideal copy and that they are so completely lacking in authority that an editor does not need even to list their variants in his critical apparatus.

By September 30, 1718, the last page of "Solomon" had been printed, and there remained to be done only the table of "Contents," which closes the volume, and the "Names of the Subscribers."³¹ Setting of this final section of the preliminaries was delayed until the following January, and even then thirty names came in so late that they had to be placed in a "Supplement."³² It was not until March 17, 1719, that the book was ready for delivery to subscribers.³³ In the meantime, apparently, it was discovered that certain pages of the printed text were unsatisfactory and needed to be replaced. Consequently, four leaves—N2, 4E2, 4K1, and 4T2—were canceled in copies of all three sizes whether they had the original setting or the resetting. The cancellans must not have been carefully proofread before printing began, because two of them originally contained errors that had to be corrected later. In the cancellans for leaf N2, the name *Henry* was at first misspelled with two *r*'s. This uncorrected state of the leaf, represented by *C1* in the table, was, it seems, used throughout machining of the small sheets; but a press correction

was made before printing the subscription and presentation copies, which are therefore shown in Table 1 as having text *C2*. In the cancellans for leaf 4K1, the word *Reflection* was erroneously used for *Restriction*. This time, for some reason, the correction was made by resetting both pages of the cancellans leaf. In Table 1 the symbol *Ca* represents the incorrect setting, which was used throughout the small copies, and *Cb* represents the correct setting, used for the medium and large sheets.

As we have already noted, one of the unusual features of this book is the manner in which sheets of the *B* text are distributed among copies of the subscription size. One would suppose that the reset sheets for each signature would be placed on top of the stack of sheets printed earlier. If gathering progressed straight through the volume, therefore, most copies would contain either all the sheets of text *B* or none of them. The table shows, however, that this did not happen to any of the eight subscription copies I have examined, no two of which are exactly alike in their combination of texts.

On the other hand, the distribution is not entirely chaotic. The table, which analyzes similar copies in adjoining columns, shows the existence of some sort of pattern for almost two-thirds of the reset portion. Copies 8, 9, and 10 have text *B* continuously for twelve signatures, B–N. For the next twenty signatures, O–2K, these copies have text *a*, while the *B* text now occurs in copies 11–15. At Sig. 2L the *B* setting returns to copies 8 and 9 and continues in them for ten signatures, to Sig. 2U. This suggests that the gathering was not done for the whole volume of 139 signatures as a single process but that only a section of the book was gathered by one person at any one time and that these sections were later put together in a different

³⁰ Some of these may be instances of full-sheet cancel, substitute signatures completely reset and printed after the size of the edition had been increased.

³¹ Prior to Harley, September 30 [–October 11], 1718, *Manuscripts of the Marquis of Bath*, III, 460.

³² Prior to Wanley, January 8, 1718/19, B.M. Harleian MS 3780, fol. 346; Prior to Bromley, February 4, 1718/19, Longleat Prior MSS, XIV, 212.

³³ *Post Boy*, March 14–17, 1719; *Daily Courant*, March 17, 1719.

order from that in which they were gathered. No such method is apparent, however, in the irregular distribution of text *B* in signatures 3A-3Z, and it may be that there was a deliberate attempt to scatter the corrupt text throughout all the subscription copies.

As the book was ultimately issued, certainly, the small copies put on public sale by Tonson and Barber were superior in text to copies for which subscribers paid two guineas. Nevertheless, these trade copies were not ideally perfect, because they lacked the corrected state of cancellans N2 and 4K1, and some of them had the uncorrected state of Sig. H. The only copies that had the original setting everywhere it should be, had the corrected state of Sig. H, and also had all the cancellans in their most perfect form were the few printed on the largest paper. One of the copies of this size that I have examined was Prior's own.³⁴ It contains no manuscript notes to suggest that he was dis-

satisfied with it in any way. In fact, there is some reason to believe that he was conscious of its special value, for in his will he made a specific bequest of this volume to his Alma Mater, St. John's College, Cambridge, where it is still preserved.

Of course, it is possible that he merely admired the impressive dimensions of the book and never looked within its covers. He may not have suspected that a series of more or less accidental circumstances had caused all volumes of the small and medium sizes to be less perfect than he had intended, and he may not have realized that only the presentation size represented what the bibliographer can call "ideal copy" and the editor can rely on as "authoritative text."

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³⁴ Microfilms of this copy were used in collating the text. Information on watermarks, cancels, and measurement, which required personal inspection, was very kindly furnished by Philip Gaskell and H. E. Clark.

YEATS AND BALZAC'S *LOUIS LAMBERT*

CARL BENSON

I

YEATS scattered through the pages of his prose a good many references to Balzac, references which indicate a rather easy familiarity with a great number of the French novelist's works; however, when he wished in 1934 to make a definitive statement of his obligation to Balzac, he singled out for particular attention *Louis Lambert*. And he spoke of *Louis Lambert* in terms he reserved for works which had most moved him and had proved most influential in his own development. "Sometimes," he said, "I meet somebody who read *Louis Lambert* in his 'teens and find that he and I have put it among our sacred books, those books which expound destiny with such a mysterious authority that they furnish texts for pious meditation."¹ It is the purpose of this essay to explain why *Louis Lambert* assumed such importance for Yeats and, more specifically, to point out how the ideas advanced in the book supported and perhaps modified the system presented by Yeats in *A Vision*. It is fortunate that Yeats has aided us in our inquiry about the impact of so complex a figure as Balzac by calling our attention to one specific work.

Perhaps the best approach to an estimate of the importance of *Louis Lambert* will be a brief and rather Yeatsian summary of the work. I shall return later to fuller discussion of those elements of chief importance in Yeats's development.

The early part of the story is set in the college at Vendôme, where the narrator

(who, I take it, is Balzac himself) first meets Louis Lambert. There the two immediately become an inseparable pair known as the "Poet and Pythagoras"; and Lambert tells his new friend the details of his early life of genius: how as a child he read through all the books in his neighborhood, including theological works of all sorts; how he had impressed Mme de Staël, especially, with his knowledge of Swedenborg; how that lady befriended him and sent him to school. The two lads do not find the rigorous studies of the school congenial; they prefer to stay apart from the others to develop and test the esoteric ideas of Lambert. One of Lambert's key notions is a Swedenborgian one, that all men have a dual nature. The angelic side is emphasized if the inner man conquers the external. If, on the other hand, man allows simple physical action to dominate, "the angel slowly perishes through the materialization of both natures."²

Presently, on a school holiday, the two are walking in the country, where Lambert discovers to his amazement that he has seen in a dream on the preceding night a scene exactly like the one before him. His first consideration of the meaning of the dream causes him to extend his Swedenborgian thought. He asks: "How is it that men have reflected so little about the events of sleep which show them that they have a double life? . . . At last I have obtained an evidence of the superiority of our latent senses over our manifest senses! *Homo duplex!*"³ As he pursues the impli-

² Balzac, *Louis Lambert* (Boston: Roberts Bros., 1889), p. 41. I quote the edition available to me.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

¹ W. B. Yeats, "Louis Lambert," *London Mercury*, XXX (July, 1934), 231.

ications of his discovery, however, he decides that the science he intends to erect upon it is materialistic. He says: "I need to believe in a dual nature and in the angels of Swedenborg! Must the new science kill them? Yes, a search into our unknown attributes and faculties implies a science apparently materialistic; for SPIRIT uses, divides, and vivifies substance, but never destroys it."⁴

The problem that Lambert faces is how, in materialistic terms, to bridge the gap between spirit and body. While still a schoolboy of fifteen he develops his ideas in a work called the *Treatise on the Will*. Some of the phrases which Lambert employs to describe and limit the functions of the mind must strike Yeats's readers as similar to the terms used by Yeats in discussing the Four Faculties (Balzac, too, has a four-way division). For example:

The word WILL served to express the medium in which thought is evolved; or to use a less abstract form of expression, the volume of force by which man reproduces outside of himself the actions which make up his external existence. VOLITION . . . expressed the act by which a man makes use of Will. The word THOUGHT, to Louis the quintessential product of the Will, designated also the medium in which are born IDEAS, to which the Will serves as substance. The IDEA, not common to all creations of the brain, constitutes the act by which man makes use of THOUGHT. . . . Will and Thought are two generating agents. Volition and Idea are the two products. Will seemed to him the Idea advanced from its abstract condition to a concrete condition. According to Lambert, Thought and Ideas are the motion and the action of our inward organism, just as Volition and Will are those of our exterior being. He placed Will above Thought.⁵

Balzac's terms as used here are not in any specific way like Yeats's Will and Mask,

Creative Mind and Body of Fate. But certain rather structural likenesses in their concepts are obvious: both place the strongest emphasis upon Will, both define the activities of the individual mind in four terms, and both concern themselves with inward and exterior being.

From the time Lambert announces his plan to write the treatise, the narrator fades from the scene, except as Lambert's interpreter. The clash between the two sides of Lambert's character becomes intensified as spirit and matter are played against each other by the synthesizing effort of Will. This effort finds utterance in the concept that problems of the spirit can be solved by the Will, conceived of ultimately as the product of physical forces.

Shortly after Lambert leaves the college at Vendôme he decides that he must finish his studies at Paris. There he learns (again the reader of Yeats is in familiar territory) that the sciences are ununified, that no effort is being made to present human knowledge in an organized whole, that, in fact, the growing specialization in knowledge leads to a fragmentary view of the world. Sickened at the lack of accomplishment of such science, Lambert gives up his study in Paris and re-embraces the Swedenborgianism of his youth. He has become convinced that "Swedenborg gathered from Magianism, Brahmanism, Buddhism, and Christian Mysticism that which those four great religions have in common,—namely, the real, the divine, within them,—and gave to this united doctrine a synthesis that may be termed mathematical."⁶ It is reasonable, I think, to see the resemblance between what Lambert (Balzac) found in Swedenborg and what Yeats found in his occult studies, studies which, by the way, included Swedenborg but also the religious and

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 53–54. Cf. *A Vision* (1925), pp. 14–15, and *A Vision* (1937), p. 83.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

quasi-religious speculations of theosophy, where Yeats found an eclecticism exceeding even that of Swedenborg. The "basis of reasoning that may be termed mathematical" may similarly be compared with the gyres and phases of Yeats's astrological historical theories and psychology.

Once at home, however, Lambert meets a young woman and falls violently in love with her. The Swedenborgian conception of heavenly love as the coalescence of two spheres is not completely satisfactory. Lambert's letters are quoted—letters in which there is a mixture of Swedenborgian love and simple sensualism. Under the strain of these conflicting emotions, Lambert breaks down and goes mad the day before his marriage. Thereafter, his fiancée devotes her life to him; Lambert does not appear mad to her: he lives in a world apart and is for the most part, though irrational, irrational in a remote, quiet, even patterned manner. Lambert dies at the age of twenty-eight, and Balzac pays him the final homage of piecing together his story and of editing whatever he found relatively lucid in the transcript the wife has made of Lambert's talk. The subject of many of Lambert's metaphysical aphorisms is the nature and force of Will.

II

I have sketched the development of *Louis Lambert*, indicating some of the points of chief interest to readers of Yeats. I should, however, emphasize the two factors especially worthy of note in Yeats's recognition of Balzac. First, it appeared to Yeats that *Louis Lambert* had for Balzac a function analogous to that of his own *A Vision*. Viewed in broad terms, *A Vision* is an arbitrary philosophy embodying an amateur psychology, a cyclic theory of history, and a group of esoteric speculations about life after death. Although arbitrary, it nevertheless afforded Yeats a means of categorizing men, move-

ments, events, epochs—what you will; that is to say, it enabled him to see individual men or events as parts of wholes, and those wholes as parts of other wholes—all in predictable terms. In short, his system assisted him in making an order of his experience. Once accustomed to the system as an organizing framework upon which he could hang his ideas and emotions, he had found the backing that his insight needed; and the system became a rather automatically invoked referent (composed of basic ideas, structures, and images), by means of which, though not always in terms of which, his vision found voice. Now one reason for Yeats's interest in *Louis Lambert* was that it furnished Balzac with, not precisely a system, but an "artist's first sketch." Here is the way Yeats puts it:

A modern painter, who thinks, like Whistler, that a picture must be perfect from the first sketch, growing in richness of detail but not in unity, knows that a work of art must remain fluid to the finish, that an alteration in some minor character or in some detail or colour compels alteration elsewhere. He knows, too, having learnt in disappointment and fatigue, that if his first sketch lacks unity he will not know how to finish. But what is true of the work of art is true of the painter's or dramatist's own life, and if the work is not to be a closed circuit that first sketch has been shaped by desires and alarms arising from another sketch, made not for art but for life. The specialist may add fact to fact, postponing synthesis till greater knowledge, but the man cannot, for, lacking it, he can neither understand nor see correctly. Jane Austen, Scott, Fielding, inherited that other sketch in its clearest and simplest form, but Balzac had to find it in his own mind. His sketch is *Louis Lambert*, the demonstration of its truth is that it made possible the *Comédie Humaine*.⁷

It is apparent in scattered sentences in the *Louis Lambert* essay that for Yeats the factor which imparted unity was Balzac's

⁷ Yeats, "Louis Lambert," pp. 233-34.

idea of Will. Of course, Balzac's application of Will was not so mechanical as Yeats's division of all men or eras into twenty-eight phases; but still it seemed to Yeats that it was the measuring stick of Will which enabled Balzac to envisage and to encompass imaginatively a humanity as diverse, say, as Seraphita, the androgynous, completely spiritual being, and Vautrin, the worldly, consummate schemer. Now Balzac had been interested in the *Treatise on the Will* in *Peau de chagrin*, written in 1830, two years before *Louis Lambert*. But the later work was of greater importance to Yeats because in it the treatise received fuller amplification and because the character of Louis Lambert, being torn between the extremities of desire, mirrored the conflict between spirit and body with the greatest conceivable intensity. Yeats calls attention to the sharpness of this character division: he refers to Lambert's madness as "an escape from the conflict between his desire of eternity and his sexual desire."⁸ Such antithetical currents within one person always interested Yeats. One recalls similar oppositions in his appraisals of Dante, Keats, Landor, and Synge. Indeed, Lambert's divided self fits rather neatly into Yeats's theory of the Mask, one of the basic concepts of his system.

The second important observation to be made is a bit more complex, but perhaps more significant. It is patent that Yeats sees Balzac driven, as he himself had been, to esoteric sources and to visions in his struggle for a means of maintaining a stable referent or base from which his view of man and of society could be at least imaginatively consistent. Yeats says, for example, "Something more profound, more rooted in the blood than mere speculation, drove him to Swedenborg, perhaps to Bonaventura and Grossetête; constrained him to think of

the human mind as capable, during some emotional crisis, or, as in the case of Louis Lambert by an accident of genius, of containing within itself all that is significant in human history and of relating that history to timeless reality."⁹ And yet, Yeats is careful to point out, Balzac is a materialist. Lambert considers the essential substance material; it is, Yeats explains, "less the ether of science which began to take its place at the close of the seventeenth century than the common element without attributes described by Crooks: the material Absolute sought by Balthasar Claes [of *The Alkahest*] in crucible and retort."¹⁰ Again Yeats, in speaking of *Seraphita*, sees Balzac as wondering, "Is movement reality or does it share the unreality of number, its source?" Then out of his view of Balzac as a man who could both raise metaphysical questions like this and at the same time cope with the practical exigencies of life, Yeats says: "Balzac but touches and passes on absorbed in drama. One could fill the gaps in his thought, substitute definition for his vague suggestion were not that to lose the bull-necked man, the great eater, whose work resembles his body, the mechanist and materialist who wrote upon the darkness with a burnt stick such sacred and exciting symbols."¹¹ The materialism, however, that Yeats found in Balzac must be understood as predicated upon the "sketch" of *Louis Lambert*; and this sketch was of such dominating force that Balzac still allowed the individual will the dignity of guidance. Yeats makes clear his approbation of this quality in Balzac's thinking. "In the *Comédie Humaine*," he says, "society is seen as a struggle for survival, each character an expression of will, the struggle

⁸ *Ibid.* Cf. "I wished for a system of thought that would leave my imagination free to create as it chose and yet make all that it created, or could create, part of one history, and that the soul's" (*A Vision* [1925], p. xi).

⁹ "Louis Lambert," p. 231.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 233.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

Darwin was to describe a few years later, without what our instinct repudiates, Darwin's exaltation of accidental variations."¹² In short, Balzac is a limited materialist, certainly not a naturalist. I believe this is the essence of Yeats's contrast of Balzac and other French novelists. For example, "Flaubert etherializes all with his conviction that life is no better than a smell of cooking through a grating. But Balzac leaves us when the book is closed amid the crowd that fills the boxes and the galleries of grand opera. . . . There in the crowded theatre are Balzac's readers and his theme, seen with his eyes they have become philosophy without ceasing to be history."¹³ And again: "Stendhal created a modern art; the seminary in *Rouge et Noir*, unlike that described in *Louis Lambert*, is of his own time and is judged according to its standards, is wholly reflected in the dawdling mirror that was to empty modern literature; but something compelled Balzac while still at school to travel backward, as did the mind of Louis Lambert, to accept all that lay hidden in his blood and in his nerves."¹⁴ In short, it appeared to Yeats that Balzac effected a compromise between materialism and a romantic view of the individual. I shall return to the importance of this compromise.

III

To sum up, there are certain rather obvious similarities in the two writers. Thus Balzac, in defining Will, attributes to it much the same importance that Yeats does in *A Vision*. Again, Lambert's discovery while in Paris of the lack of unity in society and even in research and, in general, of the divisive forces that seem to be shattering civilization would find a responsive reader in Yeats, who made much the same criticism of his own age. And the

discovery that Balzac had brilliantly vivid dream-visions must have moved Yeats, who writes of similar dream experiences in the *Autobiography* and in certain poems. It may be that Balzac was no more important to Yeats than that he gave to him the conviction that he was not alone in his desire for a systematized world view and in his affection for rather out-of-the-way mystical knowledge. From the somewhat scholarly notes and parallels with which Yeats buttresses *A Vision*, one may judge that the late Yeats sought such corroboration.

But I believe that Balzac was much more important to the poet than that. If we place Yeats's estimate of Balzac alongside his estimates of two other writers who fit into his "sacred" category, we may be able to perceive a pattern. A year before the *Louis Lambert* essay, Yeats wrote his final essay on Shelley. In it he says that he looked back in middle life and "found that [Shelley] and not Blake, whom I had studied more and with more approval, had shaped my life."¹⁵ "Shelley," he says, "was not a mystic, his system of thought was constructed by his logical faculty to satisfy desire, not a symbolical revelation received after the suspension of all desire."¹⁶ In this he was different from Blake, who, according to Yeats, "was isolated by an arbitrary symbolism."¹⁷ One more quotation from a text not immediately pertinent to Balzac will assist in pointing up the pattern of development. In speaking of his system in the introduction to the first edition of *A Vision*, Yeats says: "What I have found indeed is nothing new, for I will show presently that Swedenborg and Blake and many before them knew that all things had their gyres; but Swedenborg and Blake preferred to explain them figuratively, and so I am the first to substitute for Biblical or mytho-

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 234.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 234-35.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 235.

¹⁵ *Essays, 1931-1936*, p. 61.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

logical figures, historical movements and actual men and women."¹⁸

Blake, we see, was removed from his position of eminence because the mature poet found him too arbitrary. Shelley had an ordered system, at least of images, as the early essay, "The Philosophy of Shelley's Poetry" (1900) demonstrates.¹⁹ But Shelley's system, though more ordered than Blake's, was yet fairly otherworldly; and therefore Yeats found him "out of phase so far as his practical reason was concerned" and "subject to an *automatism* which he mistook for poetical invention."²⁰ Balzac, it may be, fell into place as the first writer to suggest to Yeats that he might be able to retain the order of a world view which grew out of his occult study—an order over which the individual artist held control, and yet a view which enabled him to encompass the experiences of "actual men and women." It should be pointed out, too, that, had Yeats been content with a completely esoteric system, he need not have troubled to evolve his own, since he could have rested on the one which he and Edwin Ellis attributed to Blake in the joint edition of that poet (1893).

I am suggesting what I believe is not generally recognized, that the pattern of development of Yeats's system, like that of his poetry, was outward—into the world of actual men and actual fact. Of course, he could never give up altogether the wisdom he had found in some of his unusual sources and in the conglomerate of myths of all cultures. But it should be noted that he clung to certain kernels of "truth," not simply out of a capricious flair for the unconventional and esoteric, but out of his need for what of the permanent and universal he could find in his "mummy wheat." So, while Yeats's sys-

tem as finally enunciated still contains elements deservedly called "esoteric" and "arbitrary," it is far less so than it might have been if we consider his sources and his own early work. In fact, in *A Vision*, as in his poems, Yeats combines the insight and authority of mystic and myth with a shrewd observation of physical man in a natural world. *A Vision* is, then, the record of a compromise.

I would not dare say that Yeats would not have learned to capture in his system and in his verse his crisply realistic treatments of joy and tragedy without the aid of Balzac. After all, he had the associations with men like George Moore and John Synge, women like Lady Gregory and Maud Gonne, the battles in behalf of the Abbey Theatre, and the recurrent efforts of Irish revolutionaries to remind him that he inhabited a flesh-and-blood world and to rebuke him for his early shuddering evasions of life as lived. And it must be said that if *Louis Lambert* was placed among Yeats's "sacred" books as early as he suggests, it was so placed before Yeats was his own system-maker, and it was called "sacred" then probably because it testified to an interest in the occult analogous to Yeats's interest. Balzac, however, like Blake and Shelley, was for Yeats an abiding influence. *Louis Lambert* remained in Yeats's memory; and, as the maturing poet felt the need to discard his early escapist formulations, Balzac's manner of facing a similar problem occurred to him. It seems quite likely that *Louis Lambert* provided Yeats with his first suggestion of a means of confronting the bitter realities of actual life and, at the same time, of retaining an ordered view which allowed to man a genuine dignity and to creative imagination and individual will their rightful roles of control—conditions which Yeats as one of the "last romantics" would demand.

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¹⁸ Pp. xi-xii.

¹⁹ *Essays*, pp. 95-116.

²⁰ *A Vision* (1937), p. 144.

VICTORIAN BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR 1951

Edited by AUSTIN WRIGHT

THIS bibliography has been prepared by a committee of the Victorian Literature Group of the Modern Language Association of America: Austin Wright, chairman, Carnegie Institute of Technology; Karl Litzenberg, University of Michigan; William D. Templeman, University of Southern California; and Richard B. Hudson, Indiana University. It attempts to list the noteworthy publications of 1951 (including reviews of these and earlier items) that have a bearing on English literature of the Victorian period, and similar publications of earlier date that have been inadvertently omitted from the preceding Victorian bibliography. Unless otherwise stated, the date of publication is 1951. Reference to a page in the bibliography for 1950, in *Modern Philology*, May, 1951, is made by the following form: See VB 1950, 261. Some cross-references are given, though not all that are possible. For certain continuing bibliographical works the reader should consult VB 1941, the last annual bibliography in which such works were listed in full.

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

AHR	= American Historical Review
AL	= American Literature
AM	= Atlantic Monthly
BA	= Books Abroad
BBDI	= Bulletin of Bibliography and Dramatic Index
BPLQ	= Boston Public Library Quarterly
BSP	= Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America
CE	= College English
CHJ	= Cambridge Historical Journal
CR	= Contemporary Review
CST	= Chicago Sunday Tribune
CWd	= Catholic World
DUJ	= Durham University Journal
EC	= Essays in Criticism
EHR	= English Historical Review
EJ	= English Journal
ELH	= Journal of English Literary History
Est	= English Studies

Ex	= Explicator
FR	= Fortnightly Review
HJ	= Hibbert Journal
HLB	= Harvard Library Bulletin
HLQ	= Huntington Library Quarterly
HTB	= New York Herald-Tribune Book Review
JAA	= Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism
JEGP	= Journal of English and Germanic Philology
JEH	= Journal of Economic History
JHI	= Journal of the History of Ideas
JMH	= Journal of Modern History
JP	= Journal of Philosophy
KR	= Kenyon Review
LJ	= Library Journal
LQ	= Library Quarterly
LQHR	= London Quarterly and Holborn Review
LR	= Library Review
MA	= Microfilm Abstracts
MLJ	= Modern Language Journal
MLN	= Modern Language Notes
MLQ	= Modern Language Quarterly
MLR	= Modern Language Review
MP	= Modern Philology
M & L	= Music and Letters
N	= Nation
NCF	= Nineteenth-Century Fiction
NEQ	= New England Quarterly
NER	= National and English Review
New R	= New Republic
NS	= New Statesman and Nation
NYTBR	= New York Times Book Review
N & Q	= Notes and Queries
ParR	= Partisan Review
PLC	= Princeton University Library Chronicle
PMLA	= Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
PQ	= Philological Quarterly
QJS	= Quarterly Journal of Speech
QQ	= Queen's Quarterly
QR	= Quarterly Review
RES	= Review of English Studies
RoR	= Romanic Review
S	= Spectator
SAQ	= South Atlantic Quarterly

- SP = *Studies in Philology*
 SRL = *Saturday Review of Literature*
 TC = *Twentieth Century*
 TLS = *Times Literary Supplement*
 TQ = *University of Toronto Quarterly*
 VQR = *Virginia Quarterly Review*
 YR = *Yale Review*

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Rev. by W. D. Home in *NER*, CXXXVII, 299-301; by John Raymond in *NS*, Oct. 27, pp. 465-66.
- Mosse, W. E. "The Crown and Foreign Policy: Queen Victoria and the Austro-Prussian Conflict, March-May, 1866." *CHJ*, X, 205-23.
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- O'Neill, Thomas P. "The Society of Friends and the Great Famine [1845-48]." *Studies: An Irish Quart. Rev.*, XXXIX, 203-13.
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Rev. by Paul Knaplund in *AHR*, LVI, 556-57; by L. D. Reid in *QJS*, XXXVII, 233; briefly in *SRL*, Mar. 17, pp. 38-39. Canning, Wellington, Cecil, Palmerston, Disraeli, Gladstone, Salisbury.
- Park, Joseph H. "The Oratory of British Nineteenth-Century Statesmen." *QJS*, XXXVII, 441-47.
- Pearce, Donald. "Dublin's 'National Literary Society,' 1892." *A & Q*, May 12, pp. 213-14.
A society important in the Irish literary revival.
- Perruchot, Henri. "Marx et le marxisme." *Rev. de Paris*, LVIII (September), 141-49.
- Pevsner, Nikolaus. *High Victorian Design*. London: Architectural Pr. Pp. 162.
Rev. by C. E. V[ulliamy] in *S*, Oct. 12, p. 488; in *TLS*, Aug. 10, p. 496.
- Ponsonby, Sir Frederick. *Recollections of Three Reigns*. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode.
Rev. by John Gore in *S*, Nov. 30, p. 743.
- "Queen Victoria's Letters." *TLS*, Sept. 28, p. 620.
Informative comment on the Coburg archives.
- [Quennell, Peter.] "The Education of a Prince: Extracts from the Diaries of Frederick Waymouth Gibbs, 1851-1856." *Cornhill Mag.*, No. 986 (spring), pp. 105-19.
Gibbs was the tutor of the Prince of Wales and Prince Alfred.
- R., S. "Theatrical History: Bills of the Play." *N & Q*, July 21, p. 321.
- Rice, Charles. *The London Theatre in the Eighteen-thirties*. Ed. by Arthur Colby Sprague and Bertram Shuttleworth. London: Soc. for Theatre Research, 1950. Pp. vii+86.
Rev. by W. G. B. Carson in *QJS*, XXXVII, 242-43.
- Rowse, A. L. *The English Past: Evocations of Persons and Places*. New York: Macmillan. Pp. ix+245.
Includes treatment of the Brontës and Hardy.
- Russell, Bertrand. "Gladstone and Lenin." *AM*, CLXXXVII (February), 66-68.
- S., R. "The Picture-Frame Proscenium of 1880." *Theatre Notebook*, V, 59-61.
- S., R. "The Problem of A. B.'s Theatre Drawings." *Theatre Notebook*, IV, (1950), 58-62.
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Thompson, Laurence. *Robert Blatchford: Portrait of an Englishman*. London: Gollancz. Pp. 242.

Rev. in *TLS*, as "Pioneer Socialist," Apr. 13, p. 230.

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Truscot, Bruce. *Red Brick University*. Penguin. Pp. 375.

Rev. by D. W. Brogan in *Cambridge Jour.*, V, 135-49.

Turnor, Reginald. *Nineteenth-Century Architecture in Britain*. ("British Art and Building" series.) London: Batsford. Pp. x+118.

Rev. by P. Hughes in *FR*, new ser., CLXIX, 424-25; by John Summerson in *NS*, July 28, pp. 103-4; in *QR*, CCLXXXIX, 415-16; in *TLS*, Mar. 16, p. 160.

Van Thal, Herbert (ed.). *Victoria's Subjects Travelled*. London: Barker.

Rev. by Oswald Blakeston in *S*, Dec. 28, p. 894.

Webster, Sir Charles. *The Foreign Policy of Palmerston, 1830-1841*. 2 vols. London: Bell.

Rev. by A. J. P. Taylor in *NS*, Nov. 3, p. 498; by Philip Magnus in *S*, Oct. 19, p. 512.

Woodham-Smith, Cecil. *Florence Nightingale, 1820-1910*. . . See VB 1950, 235.

Rev. by C. J. Rolo in *AM*, CLXXXVII (March), 84; by J. B. Sheerin in *CWd*, CLXXXIII, 237-38; by Mildred Walker in *CST*, Feb. 25, p. 5; by Marcia Davenport in *HTB*, Feb. 25, p. 1; by R. P. Tubby in *LJ*, Mar. 1, p. 410; by M. D. Zabel in *N*, May 5, p. 424; by Naomi Lewis in *New R*, May 7, pp. 23-24; by Elizabeth Janeway in *NYTBR*, Feb. 25, p. 7; by Marchette Chute in *SRL*, Mar. 10, p. 10; by H. W. Hintz in *Survey*, LXXXVII, 232; by Helen MacAfee in *YR*, XL, 732-36.

An abridged ed. (*Lonely Crusader: The Life of Florence Nightingale, 1820-1910*, pp. 255) is rev. by L. S. Bechtel in *HTB*, Nov. 11, p. 24; by Eleanor Kidder in *LJ*, Oct. 15, p. 1718; by M. C. Scoggin in *NYTBR*, Nov. 11, p. 14; by M. R. Brown in *SRL*, Nov. 10, p. 47.

III. MOVEMENTS OF IDEAS AND LITERARY FORMS: ANTHOLOGIES

Acton, H. B. "Comte's Positivism and the Science of Society." *Philosophy*, XXVI, 291-310.

A general treatment of interest to students of Mill.

Altick, Richard D. *The Scholar Adventurers*. . . See VB 1950, 235.

Rev. by John Bakeless in *BSP*, XLV, 100-101; by Milton Crane in *CST*, Jan. 7, p. 10; by Robert Halsband in *N*, Jan. 6, p. 16; by W. O. Raymond in *QQ*, LVIII, 133-35; by Marjorie Nicolson in *SRL*, Mar. 17, pp. 17-18; in *U.S. Quart. Book Rev.*, VII, 19.

Bates, H. E. *Edward Garnett*. London: Parrish, 1950. Pp. 96.

Rev. in *TLS*, Feb. 2, p. 65.
Interesting association item *re* Conrad, Galsworthy, *et al.*—K. L.

Bates, Robert Hicks. *A Study of the Literature of the Mountains and of Mountain Climbing Written in English*. Diss., 1947, Univ. of Pennsylvania. Abstract in *MA*, XI, 101-2.

Finds that about the mid-nineteenth century came the best literary work by climbers: e.g., Leslie Stephen, Tyndall, Whumper, Wills. Among nonclimbers who wrote particularly well about mountains are Ruskin, Meredith, Stevenson.

Bell, S. H. (ed.). *The Arts in Ulster: A Symposium*. London: Harrap.

Rev. by R. Greacen in *Poetry Rev.*, XLII, 207-9. An essay by J. N. Browne on Ulster poetry includes treatment of Samuel Ferguson and Wm. Allingham.

Bertocci, Angelo Philip. *Charles du Bos and English Literature: A Critic and His Orientation*. New York: King's Crown Pr., 1949. Pp. viii+285.

Rev. by R. Picard in *Comp. Lit.*, III, 374-77 ("La partie essentielle de l'ouvrage est consacrée

aux 'entretiens' poursuivis par Charles du Bos avec ... Walter Pater ... George Eliot ... Thomas Hardy").

Bock, Kenneth E. "History and a Science of Man: An Appreciation of George Cornewall Lewis." *JHI*, XII, 599-608.

Lewis (1806-63), author, scholar, scientist, statesman, called by the London *Times* "unquestionably the most learned Englishman of his generation."

Bramley, J. A. "Religion and the Novelists." *CR*, CLXXX, 348-53.

Contains brief references to Eliot, Hardy, *et al.*

Buckler, William E. "The Diffusion of Religious Doubt in Late Nineteenth-Century English Fiction." Abstract in *MA*, X (1950), 140-41.

Buckley, Jerome Hamilton. *The Victorian Temper: A Study in Literary Culture*. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Pr. Pp. 282.

Rev. briefly in *CE*, XIII, 128; by R. B. Robertson in *LJ*, Sept. 1, p. 1326; by Kenneth Reirolth in *New R*, Dec. 3, pp. 18-19; by Carlos Baker in *NYTBR*, Sept. 9, p. 4; by G. N. Ray in *SRL*, Oct. 13, pp. 38, 46. Much on Carlyle, Ruskin, Tennyson, Kingsley, Wilde.

Bush, Douglas. *Science and English Poetry . . . 1590-1950*. . . See VB 1950, 236.

Rev. by Hoyt Trowbridge in *JAA*, X, 177-78; by S. Mintz in *JHI*, XII, 155-57.

Carlyle (see *Carlyles: Carlyle's Unfinished History of German Literature*).

A Century of Books. How More than 100 Famous Books of the Past Century Were Judged by Contemporary Critics . . . in Reviews Gleaned from the Pages of the "New York Times." New York. Pp. 48.

Of particular interest to Victorianists are reviews of Darwin's *Origin of Species*; Huxley's *Evidence as to Man's Place in Nature*; Mill's *On Liberty*; Tennyson's *Poems* (Boston, 1865); Thackeray's *Esmond*; Swinburne's *Atalanta*; Eliot's *Daniel Deronda*; Dickens' *Our Mutual Friend*; Frazer's *Golden Bough*. There are also several reviews of important American works as well as several interesting and enlightened treatments of works by non-English writers, including Baudelaire, Turgenev, Hugo, Dumas, and Taine.

This may well be the most useful twenty-five-

cent publication to have appeared in the period 1851-1951.—K. L.

Clare, Charles. *J. M. W. Turner: His Life and Work*. New York: Crown. Pp. 128.

Rev. in *TLS*, Oct. 19, p. 656.

Clifford, James L. *Johnsonian Studies, 1887-1950: A Survey and Bibliography*. Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Pr. Pp. ix+140.

Rev. by Mary C. Hyde in *BSP*, XLV, 365-67.

Commager, Henry Steele (ed.). *One Hundred Years of Famous Pages from the "New York Times."* New York: Simon & Schuster. Pp. 100.

Of special interest are the review of Darwin's *The Origin of Species* and a facsimile reprint of the account by a London *Times* correspondent that led to the writing of Tennyson's "The Charge of the Light Brigade."

Cox, R. G. "Victorian Criticism of Poetry: The Minority Tradition." *Scrutiny*, XVIII, 2-17.

Davis, Robert Gorham. "The Sense of the Real in English Fiction." *Comp. Lit.*, III, 200-217.

Useful historical consideration; treats of numerous Victorian novelists and critics.

Drummond, Andrew L. *The Churches in English Fiction*. Leicester: Backus, 1950.

Rev. by Dorothy Hawkin in *HJ*, XLIX, 306-8; by H. Bett in *LQHR*, April, pp. 186-87; by Norman Birkett in *S*, Jan. 19, pp. 83-84; in *TLS*, Jan. 12, p. 20.

"A literary and historical study from the Regency to the present time, of British and American fiction"; index mentions more than 250 novels, almost all of which are given summary and criticism in the text. Apparently a notable book of reference for nineteenth-century works.—W. D. T. 823.09 D

Ellis, Havelock. *From Marlowe to Shaw: The Studies, 1876-1936, in English Literature*. Ed. with a foreword by John Gawsworth. With a prefatory letter by Thomas Hardy. London: Williams, 1950. Pp. 320.

Rev. in *TLS*, Jan. 5, p. 8. Contains essays, among many others, on Landor and Hardy.

Fletcher, Frank. *The Critical Values of William Cray Brownell*. Diss., 1951, Univ. of Michigan. Abstract in *MA*, XI, 680-82.

Includes consideration of his relation to the Victorians (e.g., Thackeray, Arnold); declares that "Brownell's literary criticisms, relying upon so evasive a pattern of value, even though occasionally they prove incisive and stimulating, prove on the whole ineffective."

Forbes, Duncan. "James Mill and India." *Cambridge Jour.*, V, 19-33.

Franklyn, Julian. "1851-1951." *CR*, CLXXIX, 284-89.

Suggestive of the contents is the conclusion: "Laugh at the Victorians? They would weep about us." A brief but effective defense of Victorian culture, manners, and morality.—K. L.

Friederich, Werner P. *Dante's Fame Abroad, 1350-1850. The Influence of Dante Alighieri on the Poets and Scholars of . . . England . . . a Survey of the Present State of Scholarship.* ("Univ. of North Carolina Studies in Comparative Literature.") Chapel Hill, 1950. Pp. 583.

Rev. by H. Hatzfeld in *Comp. Lit.*, III, 372-74.

Haviland, Virginia. *The Travelogue Storybook of the Nineteenth Century.* (Caroline Hewins Lecture.) Boston: Horn Book. Pp. 70.

Rev. by J. D. Hart in *LQ*, XXI, 135; by E. L. B. in *NYTBR*, Mar. 4, p. 26; in *School & Soc.*, Sept. 23, p. 206.

Hudson, Lynton. *The English Stage, 1850-1950.* London: Harrap. Pp. 223.

Rev. by Ken Tynan in *S*, Apr. 27, pp. 564, 566.

Lelyveld, Toby Bookholtz. *Shylock on the Stage: Significant Changes in the Interpretation of Shakespeare's Jew.* Diss., 1951, Columbia Univ. Abstract in *MA*, XI, 772-74.

Includes three chapters on changes in nineteenth-century England.

Litzenberg, Karl. "The Twilight of the Victorian Gods." *Michigan Alum. Quart. Rev.*, LVII, 336-45.

A carefully written, well-informed, and delightfully pleasant consideration of the reputation of the Victorian age with scholars and the reputation of that age with the public in general. Students and teachers of Victorian literature will enjoy this and find it useful, on the basis of its treatment of symbols, especially—including the Victorian beard.—W. D. T.

McAleer, Edward C. "Isa Blagden to Kate Field." *BPLQ*, III, 210-20.

References to the Brownings and the Trollopes.

Melden, A. I. "Two Comments on Utilitarianism." *Philos. Rev.*, LX, 508-24.

Miles, Josephine. *The Continuity of Poetic Language: Studies in English Poetry from the 1540's to the 1940's.* ("Univ. of California Publications in English," Vol. XIX.) Berkeley: Univ. of California Pr. Pp. 542.

Rev. in *N*, July 14, p. 37; by Siegfried Mandel in *SRL*, Oct. 13, p. 46.

Oppel, Horst. *Die Kunst des Erzählens im englischen Roman des 19. Jahrhunderts.* Bielefeld.

Rev. by A. Closs in *MLQ*, XII, 375.

Pinto, V. de S. *Crisis in English Poetry, 1880-1940.* London: Hutchinson. Pp. 228.

Rev. by Vincent Cronin in *Dublin Rev.*, No. 454, pp. 79-81; by Margaret Willy in *English*, VIII, 290-91; in *N & Q*, Aug. 18, p. 373; by Richard Murphy in *S*, July 27, p. 131.

Price, J. B. "Parody and Humour." *CR*, CLXXX, 242-46.

Contains references to Dobson, Carroll, Wilde, et al.

Ransom, John Crowe (ed.). *The Kenyon Critics: Studies in Modern Literature.* Cleveland: World Pub. Co. Pp. x+342. (Thirty-three essays from *KR*.)

Rev. briefly in *CE*, XII, 478; by Paul Engle in *CST*, Mar. 18, p. 15; by Raymond Mortimer in *New R*, June 18, p. 18; by Granville Hicks in *NYTBR*, Aug. 5, p. 9; by L. L. Martz in *SRL*, June 9, p. 15.

Raymond, William O. "The Mind's Internal Heaven' in Poetry." *TQ*, XX, 215-32.

Includes mention of G. M. Hopkins, Fitzgerald, Swinburne, Housman, Bridges, Yeats.

Sewell, Elizabeth. "Bats and Tea-Trays: A Note on Nonsense." *EC*, I, 376-86.

A chapter from a forthcoming book, *The Structure of Nonsense: Lear, Carroll, and Nursery Rhyme.*

Simon, Irène. *Formes du roman anglais de Dickens à Joyce.* Liège: Faculté de philosophie et lettres.

Rev. in *TLS*, Apr. 27, p. 263.

Steegman, John. *Consort of Taste, 1830-1870*. London: Sidgwick, 1950. Pp. viii+338.

Rev. in *TLS*, Jan. 19, p. 38. An examination of Victorian aesthetics.

Taylor, Geoffrey (ed.). *Irish Poets of the Nineteenth Century*. ("Muses' Libr.") Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Pr. Pp. viii+406.

Rev. by Vivian Mercier in *Commonweal*, June 1, p. 197; by G. D. McDonald in *LJ*, Sept. 15, p. 1427; by W. R. Rodgers in *NS*, Apr. 21, p. 454; by R. Greacen in *Poetry Rev.*, XLII, 207-9; in *TLS*, Mar. 16, p. 168.

Thompson, Mariana. "Mallarmé in England." *TLS*, Mar. 9, p. 149.

Letter requesting materials re study of Mallarmé's influence in England.

Tillotson, Geoffrey. *Criticism and the Nineteenth Century*. London: Univ. of London, Athlone Pr.

Rev. by G. S. Fraser in *NS*, Oct. 27, pp. 468-70; in *TLS*, Aug. 24, p. 531. Especially on Arnold, Newman, Pater.

Troughton, Marion. "Elections in English Fiction." *CR*, CLXXX, 280-84.

Contains references to Dickens, Eliot, Thackeray, et al.

Vines, Sherard. *A Hundred Years of English Literature*. ("Hundred Years" series.) New York: Macmillan. Pp. 316.

Rev. in *School & Soc.*, Mar. 3, p. 142; in *TLS*, Mar. 2, p. 130. Covers 1830-1940.

Walbank, F. Alan (ed.). *Queens of the Circulating Library: Selections from Victorian Lady Novelists, 1850-1900*. London: Evans, 1950. Pp. 323.

Rev. in *TLS*, Jan. 19, p. 33.

Wellek, René, and Warren, Austin. *Theory of Literature*. . . See VB 1950, 238.

Rev. by Rudolf Sühnel in *Anglia*, LXX, 210-13; by Edward G. Ballard in *JP*, XLVIII, 108-10; by Alexander Kern in *MLQ*, XII, 360-61.

Wiley, Basil. *Nineteenth Century Studies*. . . See VB 1950, 238.

Rev. by Paul Turner in *Est*, XXXII, 228-30; by Emery Neff in *MLN*, LXVI, 66-67.

Williams, Raymond, "Criticism into Drama, 1888-1950." *EC*, I, 120-38.

Of interest with regard to Shaw and Yeats.

IV. INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS

Ainsworth. "William Harrison Ainsworth." *PLC*, XII, 162-63.

Acquisition of the MS of Ainsworth's novel *Beatrice Tyldesley*, written 1877-78.

Allingham (see III, Bell).

Arnold (see also II, Lloyd; III, Fletcher, Tillotson; Clough: Robertson). Bantock, G. H. "Matthew Arnold, H.M.I." *Scrutiny*, XVIII, 32-44.

An essay on Arnold, employing Connell's book (*q.v.*) as a point of departure.—K. L.

Connell, W. F. *The Educational Thought and Influence of Matthew Arnold*. London: Routledge, 1950.

Rev. briefly by John Armitage in *FR*, new ser., CLXIX, 58-59.

Faverty, Frederic E. *Matthew Arnold the Ethnologist*. Evanston: Northwestern Univ. Pr. Pp. vii+241.

Rev. briefly in *CE*, XIII, 61; in *TLS*, Oct. 26, p. 682.

A compact and rich book, not easy to review briefly; deserves many words of appreciation and praise. Professor Faverty is careful to direct his observations to increasing our knowledge of the life and work of Arnold as they relate to contemporary and subsequent theories of racial differences. He has, however, given information also enlightening with reference to the literary position of many other nineteenth-century writers concerning ethnology. He seems to have neglected no source of information; and he has done especially imposing and valuable research in the French books and periodicals that Arnold employed.

After an introductory chapter, the author shows that Arnold opposed those who extravagantly praised the Teutons. The third chapter shows that Arnold warred vigorously against Teuton, or Saxon, Philistinism, which he considered a confining rut and a clouded vision. Chap. iv, "The Teuton Redeemed," shows that, though Arnold regarded with great favor certain characteristics that he imputed to the Celtic race and though he disliked Teutonic Philistinism, he insisted that the Teutons were possessed in high degree of the great virtues of energy, honesty, and morality. Chap. v, the longest, deals with Arnold's concern with the Celts, and he is shown to have been friend and defender of much that he

called Celtic; yet certain deficiencies in the Celts he points to and deplors. Chap. vi briefly but in a very enlightening way presents the sources, directions, and limitations of Arnold's attitude in the controversy referred to as "the Semitic vs. the Indo-European genius"; this is one of the best parts of the book. The seventh and last chapter is correctly called a conclusion, not a summary. The footnotes for the entire work merit special praise.

As is the rest of the book, the "Conclusion" is valuable. An emphasis more appropriate to the implications of the body of this book—and so a better emphasis—might have been given, however, to this chapter by putting its final paragraph earlier (possibly as the opening paragraph), and by letting the second-last become the final paragraph.

This book shows Arnold to be a man of letters who often used materials drawn from ethnology, a field wherein he admittedly had no competence. The theories that he accepts have become largely discredited; hence certain of his writings have lost some effectiveness. He is shown, however, to have chosen carefully his authorities on racial and national characteristics and to have thought with caution and shrewdness about the contentions of those "authorities" that he, together with many other notable people of the time, chose to follow. It appears that, although the ethnology he employed is largely no longer credible, still his purposes were and are sound. Although he employed some of the maddest ideas (according to present-day ethnologists), they were not generally considered insane in his time; and, although they were employed by Arnold to provide important support, still his contentions which they supported are not ordinarily invalidated when they are sometimes shown to be untenable on present ethnological grounds. His purposes are usually right, regardless of the ethnology involved.

Arnold is a famed figure in fields of literary, social, educational, and religious criticism. Readers of Arnold, whatever their interests, will profit from the painstaking and wide-ranging research and the clear, well-organized presentation of findings that Professor Faverty has made.—W. D. T.

Holloway, John. "Matthew Arnold and the Modern Dilemma." *EC*, I, 1-16.

Lowe, Robert Liddell. "A Note on Arnold in America." *AL*, XXIII, 250-52.

An unpublished letter from Arnold to G. W. Smalley gives, Lowe says, the hitherto unrevealed reason for Arnold's lecture tour of America, 1883-

84. It was to pay off a gambling debt contracted by his son Richard, when he was a student at Oxford in the 1870's. This latter information is not in the letter, which says, rather ambiguously, "I paid off the debt I wanted to discharge. . . ." The author thanks Arnold Whitridge for the information as to what the debt was and offers no other evidence. The letter itself might refer to any debt, especially in the light of the dates involved.—R. B. H.

Minnick, Wayne C. "Matthew Arnold on Emerson." *QJS*, XXXVII, 332-36.

Owen, B. Evan. "Matthew Arnold." *FR*, new ser., CLXX, 760-66.

Perkins, David. "Arnold and the Function of Literature." *ELH*, XVIII, 287-309.

Stageberg, Norman C. "Arnold's 'Dover Beach.'" *Ex*, IX, Item 34.

Trilling, Lionel. *Matthew Arnold*. . . See VB 1950, 239.

Rev. by W. D. Templeman in *MLQ*, XII, 368-69.

Bagehot, Buchan, Alastair. "Walter Bagehot." *TLS*, Mar. 16, p. 165.

Letter *re* materials for a study of Bagehot.

Barrie (see Henley: Connell).

Beerbohm (see also Shaw: Popkin). Gallatin, A. E., and Oliver, L. M. "A Bibliography of the Works of Sir Max Beerbohm." *HLB*, V, 77-93, 221-41, 338-61.

Borrow, Boyle, A. "Portraiture in *Lavengro*." *N & Q*, May 12, pp. 211-13; Aug. 18, pp. 361-66; Sept. 15, pp. 410-12; Oct. 13, pp. 453-56; Oct. 27, pp. 477-79; Dec. 8, pp. 536-38.

Boucicault, Downer, Alan S. "The Case of Mr. Lee Moreton." *Theatre Notebook*, IV (1950), 44-45.

Bridges (see also III, Raymond). Cohen, J. M. "The Road Not Taken: A Study in the Poetry of Robert Bridges." *Cambridge Jour.*, IV, 555-64.

Suggests that Bridges is to be rediscovered as a lyrical poet, especially of the years 1880-1910.

Brontës (see also II, Lloyd, Rowse). *The Complete Poems of Emily Brontë*. Ed. by Philip Henderson. London: Folio Soc.

Rev. in *TLS*, Nov. 16, p. 733; comment on review in letter by Mr. Henderson, Nov. 30, p. 765; further comment by Helen Brown, Dec. 21, p. 821.

Brontë Society, Transactions and Other Publications of.

Vol. XII, No. 1 (Part 61) has items: Barker, Sir Ernest, "The Inspiration of Emily Brontë" (pp. 3-9); Bentley, Phyllis, "A German Brontë Forgery" (pp. 30-32); "Emily Brontë: A Diary Paper [reproduced in facsimile and transcribed]" (p. 15); Hopewell, Donald, "New Treasures at Haworth" (pp. 18-26); Oliver, W. T., "A Statue Group of the Brontës" (pp. 10-13); Preston, Albert H., "John Greenwood and the Brontës" (pp. 35-38); Ratchford, Fannie, "The Significance of the Diary Paper" (pp. 16-17); "The Sculpture Group Unveiled" (p. 13).

Day, Martin S. "Brontë's *Jane Eyre*." *Ex*, IX, Item 41.

Hesketh, Phoebe. "Emily Brontë: Twentieth Century [poem]." *FR*, new ser., CLXIX, 255.

Kite, J. E. "Wuthering Heights." *TLS*, Mar. 16, p. 165.

Letter re "the remarkable copy" of *Wuthering Heights* mentioned by Wise and now recently acquired by Mr. Kite. Of interest to all Brontë collectors.—K. L.

MacCarthy, B. G. "Emily Brontë." *Studies: An Irish Quart. Rev.*, XXXIX, 15-30.

Michell, Humphrey. "Haworth." *Dalhousie Rev.*, XXXI, 135-41.

Impressions of and after a visit in 1950 to the literary shrine where more than fifty thousand people go each year.

Newbold, Francis. "Emily Brontë [poem]." *FR*, new ser., CLXIX, 254.

Wallace, Kathleen. *Immortal Wheat*. London: Heinemann.

Rev. by Eleanor Slingsby in *S*, July 20, p. 104.

Brownell, W. C. (see III, Fletcher).

Brownings (see also III, McAleer). *Dearest Isa: Robert Browning's Letters to Isabella Blagden*. Ed. with an introd. by Edward C. McAleer. Austin: Univ. of Texas Pr. Pp. 402.

Rev. in *HTB*, Dec. 2, p. 32; by Carlos Baker in *NYTBR*, Aug. 5, p. 11; by Frances Winwar in *SRL*, Aug. 18, p. 12.

New Letters of Robert Browning. Ed. by William Clyde De Vane and Kenneth Leslie Knickerbocker. . . . See VB 1950, 241.

Rev., with strong criticism of the editorial practices employed, by R. H. Super in *MP*, XLIX, 136-41; by P. F. Baum in *SAQ*, L, 433; in *TLS*, Dec. 14, p. 806; in *U.S. Quart. Book Rev.*, VII, 2.

Altick, Richard D. "The Private Life of Robert Browning." *YR*, XLI, 247-62.

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Fairchild, Hoxie N. "Browning's 'Whatever Is, Is Right.'" *CE*, XII, 377-82.

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Clare Vawdrey is Browning and Lord Melli-font is Frederick, Lord Leighton.

- McAleer, Edward C. "New Letters from Mrs. Browning to Isa Blagden." *PMLA*, LXVI, 594-612.
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- Carlyles (see also I, Stark; II, Lloyd; III, Buckley; Fitzgerald; Short). *Carlyle's Unfinished History of German Literature*. Ed. by Hill Shine. Univ. of Kentucky Pr. Pp. xxvi+156.
The fragmentary MS, now at Yale, of the first vol. of a planned 4-vol. history. The introduction includes an account of general British interest in German literature up to 1830. The editor's notes are many and valuable. An important contribution.—W. D. T.
- Letters of Thomas Carlyle to William Graham*. Ed. by John Graham, Jr. . . . See VB 1950, 242.
Rev. by J. H. Marshburn in *BA*, XXV, 74; by Lloyd Davidson in *MLN*, LXVI, 212; by William Blackburn in *SAQ*, L, 289-90.
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- Benardete, Doris. "Alice among the Professors." *Western Humanities Rev.*, V, 239-47.
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Hudson, Derek. "Lewis Carroll." *TLS*, Aug. 17, p. 517.

Request for materials.

Wright, Noel. "The Walrus and the Carpenter." *TLS*, Sept. 14, p. 581.

Contents that the first two verses of the "Walrus" were inspired by a description of the midnight sun recorded by Lt. Bellot in 1851. See also letters from R. L. Green and Barbara Ker Wilson, Sept. 21, p. 597; from R. C. Gale, Sept. 28, p. 613; from Nevin Drinkwater, Oct. 5, p. 629; from Humphrey Mitchell, Oct. 5, p. 629. Further comment by Lionel Gough, Oct. 12, p. 645; by R. L. Green, Oct. 19, p. 661; by H. F. Griffin, Nov. 2, p. 693.

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Rev. in *TLS*, Nov. 23, p. 748.

Badger, Kingsbury. "Arthur Hugh Clough as Dipsychus." *MLQ*, XII, 39-56.

A thorough presentation dealing—among other things—with the conflict between thought and feeling in Clough.—K. L.

Johari, G. P. "Arthur Hugh Clough at Oriel and at University Hall." *PMLA*, LXVI, 405-25.

Throws some new light upon the reasons for Clough's resignation of his fellowship at Oriel and upon his appointment to and dismissal from the principalship of University Hall, London. Based upon unpublished papers.—A. W.

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An appreciation of Clough, who, Pritchett says, was in advance of his time. "His line is clean. His lack of pretense is austere."

Robertson, D. A., Jr. "Clough's 'Say Not' in MS." *N & Q*, Nov. 10, pp. 499-500.

In a letter from Clough to Thomas Arnold.

Robertson, David Allan, Jr. "'Dover Beach' and 'Say Not the Struggle Nought Avail-eth.'" *PMLA*, LXVI, 919-28.

Argues plausibly that Clough's poem may have been a reply to Arnold's.—A. W.

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Deserved praise of Collins for his "vigorous, full-blooded narrative."

Robinson, Kenneth. *Wilkie Collins: A Biography*. London: Lane. Pp. 352.

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Gatch, Katherine Haynes. "Conrad's Axel." *SP*, XLVIII, 98-106.

Haugh, Robert F. "The Structure of *Lord Jim*." *CE*, XIII, 137-41.

Miller, James E., Jr. "The Nigger of the 'Narcissus': A Re-examination." *PMLA*, LXVI, 911-18.

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Five letters (1860-66) to a professor of anatomy at Harvard, when the controversy over *The Origin of Species* was at its height.

Ed. "Evolutionary Principles." *TLS*, Aug. 31, pp. 541-42. See also comment by the Aga Khan, Sept. 14, p. 581.

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Based largely on the "Contributor's Book" for *Household Words* kept by Dickens' subeditor, William Henry Wills. Evidence against the theory that Dickens was in any degree an unusually liberal paymaster.—A. W.

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Prints letters from New York publishers to Dickens and to Bradbury & Evans, 1853-54. *Household Words* was much less successful in America than its successor, *All the Year Round*.

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- Healey, E. C. "Dickens and Russia." *NYTBR*, Apr. 22, p. 18.
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- Lindsay, Jack. *Charles Dickens*. . . . See VB 1950, 247.
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- Nisbet, Ada B. "The Mystery of *Martin Chuzzlewit*." In *Essays . . . Dedicated to Lily B. Campbell*, pp. 201-16. Univ. of California Pr., 1950.
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- Savage, Oliver D. "Surviving Dickens London." *CR*, CLXXX, 37-41.
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See also letters from J. Isaacs, Jan. 26, p. 53; from Grover Smith, Feb. 23, p. 117; from Nathan L. Bengis, Sept. 28, p. 613. On Eliot's use of "concealed quotations."

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- Hallam** (see **Tennyson**: Bowman).
- Hardy** (see also I, [Weber]; II, Flower, Rowse; III, Bertocci, Bramley, Ellis; **Henley**: Connell). B., W. G.; Howse, W. H.; Kent, William; F., P. J.; Mercer, D. R.; Cox, A. L.; Rubenstein, Stanley; Ward, S. H.; Eastwood, Sidney K.; Gregory, S. E.; Brown, P. W. F. "Wife-selling in 19th Century." *N & Q*, Feb. 17, p. 82; Apr. 14, p. 173; May 26, pp. 238-39; June 23, p. 283; July 21, p. 327; Aug. 4, pp. 348-49; Oct. 13, p. 460; Nov. 10, p. 504.
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- Holland, Clive. "My Walks and Talks in Wessex with Thomas Hardy." *John o' London's Weekly*, Mar. 30, pp. 170-71.
- Newton, William. "Chance as Employed by Hardy and the Naturalists." *PQ*, XXX, 154-75.
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A pamphlet, with illustrations by Naomi Lang.
- Roberts, Marguerite (ed.). *Tess in the Theatre*. . . . See VB 1950, 249.
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- Sherman, G. W. "Hooper Tolbort's Influence upon Thomas Hardy." *N & Q*, June 23, pp. 280-81.

Strong, L. A. G. "Dorset Hardy." *EC*, I, 42-50.

Weber, Carl J. "Hardy: A Wessex Seesaw." *SRL*, Jan. 6, pp. 24-25.

Weber, Carl J. *Hardy and the Lady from Madison Square*. ("Colby College Monographs," No. 20.) Waterville, Me.: Colby College Pr., 1952. Pp. xxi+263.

Rebekah Owen (1858-1939), bluestocking daughter of the prosperous American agent of a British steel-pen company, chanced upon a story called "The Three Strangers" in 1883, and thereupon embarked upon a lifelong career of devoted and worshipful study of Thomas Hardy and his works. Professor Weber, who had sketched Rebekah's activities briefly in his *Hardy in America* (1946), gives them full-length treatment here in a work of major importance to all students and readers of Hardy.

The Hardy collections of Rebekah Owen are now in that matchless treasure house of Hardiana, the Colby College Library, and the many letters that are here printed for the first time would of themselves give significance to this latest of Professor Weber's invaluable contributions to Hardy scholarship—for example, postcards and letters from Hardy (none of them lengthy—he was a notably laconic correspondent); from Emma Lavinia Hardy, his first wife; from Florence Hardy, his second wife; from his sister Mary. But the letters are far from being the only items of importance. Rebekah Owen performed bibliographical services of lasting significance, and the novelist's comments upon his own works as recorded by her are highly illuminating. Of peculiar interest is the light thrown upon the relationship between Hardy and that eccentric, unstable, shrewish, but pitiable woman, Emma Lavinia. It would be misleading to imply that this book contains even a hint of any scandalous nature, but it is clear that Mrs. Hardy could hardly have regarded with equanimity, for example, the nocturnal slumming tour through the "Mixer Lane" of *The Mayor of Casterbridge* on which Hardy conducted the worshipping Rebekah while his wife was away. And we gain new understanding of the mood in which Hardy produced that great poem "The Darkling Thrush."

The career and personality of Rebekah herself, however, are of sufficient interest to lead one briskly on through the book, entirely aside from the frequent appearances of the sage of Wessex. Determined, tireless, imperious, Rebekah amazes one with her energetic and sometimes overwhelm-

ing pursuit of Hardy through the chapters of his books and into the drawing-room of Max Gate; she annoys one with her egotism, her priggishness, her nursing of her wounded vanity when, with the passing of the years, "the adored one" came to treat her with less respect than she felt was so justly her due; and yet she wins one's pity as the devotion of half a lifetime leaves her empty-handed, frustrated, rejected.

When Rebekah and her sister, having decided to forsake Madison Square permanently for England, were unable to find a suitable house in Wessex, they settled at length in the Lake District. Here Rebekah in her later years came to know a Mrs. William Heelis, who eventually succeeded her as the owner of Belmont Hall and was to play a vital role in the safe transfer of the Owen Hardiana overseas to Colby during the submarine-haunted war years. This Mrs. Heelis, it turns out, was no other than Beatrix Potter, and we are allowed some delightful digressions with regard to the gifted and gracious woman who created Peter Rabbit and *Jemima Puddleduck*, of blessed memory.

The book is written in an animated and at times sportive style, bound to hold the attention of the general reader as well as the specialist. And the story told is remarkable. Certainly, "the persistence, the thoroughness, and the enthusiasm of Rebekah Owen's interest" in the distinguished author who dominated her life have few parallels. Indefatigable idolator that she was, she not only read the works herself but read them aloud to others—over and over and over. She tried to identify (often with the help of the author) and to visit every spot associated with a scene in the novels; she took innumerable photographs; she scanned the newspapers for items bearing upon incidents related by the novelist (for instance, the wife-sale in *The Mayor of Casterbridge*); she quizzed the master; she quizzed his wife, his friends; she studied; she probed; she pondered. Great as was the interest in Hardy in both England and America in the last forty years of his life, an interest made abundantly clear by Professor Weber in this book and elsewhere, it is clear also that, as Professor Weber drily remarks, "There can, indeed, have been few readers of Hardy like her."—A. W.

Wilson, Carroll A. *Thirteen Author-Collections of the Nineteenth Century*. . . See VB 1950, 249.

Rev. by N. H. Pearson in *BSP*, XLV, 97-100; by Michael Sadleir in *Library*, VI, 133-36.

Harrison, Frederic (see I, [Weber]).

Henley, Connell, John. "New Light on George Wyndham: A Selection of Unpublished Letters to W. E. Henley, with an Introduction and Commentary." *NER*, CXXXVI, 287-94, 352-57.

Connell, John. "Unpublished Letters." *NER*, CXXXVI, 29-32.

The author tells how, as a result of a Third Programme broadcast, he was put in touch with a Mrs. Richmond, who had cared for Mrs. W. E. Henley in her last years. Mrs. Richmond lent him 20 letters from Barrie, Kipling, and Wilde to Henley, which he used in the preparation of his biography of Henley. A year later, Mrs. Richmond sent him 750 letters to and from Henley, as well as MS material. These unpublished letters are from James, Leslie Stephen, Wells, Meredith, Hardy, Conrad, and others.—R. B. H.

Henty, Greenwall, Harry F. "G. A. Henty." *TLS*, Sept. 21, p. 597.

Request for Henty material, with a comment on Henty's financial arrangements with his publishers.

Hood, Hennig, John. "The Literary Relations between Goethe and Thomas Hood." *MLQ*, XII, 57-66.

Argues the usefulness of a "two-way" study of foreign and native writers, using Hood and Goethe as an example of the fruitfulness of the method advocated. Rewarding.—K. L.

Whitley, Alvin. "Hood and Dickens: Some New Letters." *HLQ*, XIV, 385-413.

Twenty letters from Hood to Dickens (1840-44), all but one "here published in complete form for the first time."

Hopkins (see also III, Raymond). Bischoff, D. Anthony. "The Manuscripts of Gerard Manley Hopkins." *Thought*, XXVI, 551-80.

Purposes "to provide an adequate but brief description of the principal Hopkins manuscripts, indicating their contents and present location."

Cohen, Selma J. "Hopkins' 'As Kingfishers Catch Fire.'" *MLQ*, XI (1950), 197-204.

Davie, Donald A. "Hopkins, the Decadent Critic." *Cambridge Jour.*, IV, 725-39.

Gwynn, F. L. "Hopkins' 'The Windhover': A New Simplification." *MLN*, LXVI, 366-70.

An appealing interpretation sensibly based upon the known flight habits of the kestrel.—K. L.

Lees, F. N. "The Windhover." *Scrutiny*, XVII (1950), 32-37.

Pearson, W. H. "G. M. Hopkins and Provost Fortescue." *N & Q*, Sept. 29, pp. 431-33.

Schneider, Elisabeth. "Two Metaphysical Images in Hopkins's *The Wreck of the Deutschland*." *MLN*, LXV (1950), 306-11.

Sister Mary Patricia. "Forty Years of Criticism: A Chronological Checklist of Criticism of the Works of Gerard Manley Hopkins from 1909 to 1949 (Part II)." *BBDI*, XX (1950), 63-67. See VB 1950, 251.

Wright, Brooks. "Hopkins' 'God's Grandeur.'" *Ex*, X, Item 5.

Housman (see also III, Raymond). Bache, William. "Housman's 'To an Athlete Dying Young.'" *Ex*, X, Item 6.

Haber, Tom Burns. "A New Poem on an Old Subject from a Notebook of A. E. Housman." *TQ*, XX, 254-56.

Haber, Tom Burns. "A Poem of Beeches from the Notebooks of A. E. Housman." *Dalhousie Rev.*, XXXI, 196-97.

Haber, Tom Burns. "Some New Poems from A. E. Housman's Notebooks." *CE*, XII, 439-40.

White, William. "Fifteen Unpublished Letters of A. E. Housman." *Dalhousie Rev.*, XXIX (1950), 402-10.

White, William. "Girls of A Shropshire Lad." *SRL*, June 16, p. 27.

Raising a question as to why Housman changed the girl's name in Lyric XXV.

White, William. "A Shropshire Lad in Shrewsbury." *N & Q*, June 23, p. 281.

White, William. "Two Problems in A. E. Housman Bibliography." *BSP*, XLV, 358-59.

Howitts, Woodring, Carl R. "William and Mary Howitt: Bibliographical Notes." *HLB*, V, 251-55.

Valuable list supplementing the *CBEL* and other published lists.—W. D. T.

Hughes. Westgarth, J. "Thomas Hughes." *TLS*, June 15, p. 373.

Request for materials.

Hunt (see also I, Stark). Counihan, Daniel. "Leigh Hunt and Dickens." *TLS*, Oct. 5, p. 629.

Objects to perpetuating the "Skimpole legend." See also letter from Murroe FitzGerald, Oct. 26, p. 677.

Huxley (see III, *A Century of Books*).

Johnson. "Seven New Poems by Lionel Johnson." Selected by Ian Fletcher. *Poetry Rev.*, XLI (1950), 315-18.

Selected from a MS containing 23 poems; "most of them appear to date from the winter 1884-85 and to have been written at Mold, Flintshire, where Johnson's father had a house for some years."

Kingsley, Charles (see also II, Lloyd; III, Buckley). Ed. "Kingsley as a Children's Writer." *TLS*, June 15, p. i.

Kingsley, Henry. Buckler, William E. "Henry Kingsley and *The Gentleman's Magazine*." *JEGP*, L, 90-100.

Contains several unpublished letters by Kingsley and Edward Walford.

Thirkell, Angela. "The Works of Henry Kingsley." *NCF*, V, 273-93.

Kingsley, Mary. Cooke, Albert Colby. "An Eminent and Unconventional Victorian: Mary Henrietta Kingsley, 1862-1900." *TQ*, XX, 329-43.

Kipling (see also **Henley**; Connell). Kaufman, Esther. "Kipling and the Technique of Action." *NCF*, VI, 107-20.

Mosby, T. S. "Kipling's *Kim*." *NYTBR*, Oct. 21, p. 49.

Concerning the payment for *Kim* by S. S. McClure.

Rice, Howard C. *Rudyard Kipling in New England*. Rev. ed. Brattleboro [Vt.]: The Book Cellar. Pp. 47.

Rev. by Siegfried Mandel in *SRL*, Sept. 29, p. 35.

Weld, William E., Jr. *Rudyard Kipling, l'illustrateur écrivain: A Study of the Fame and For-*

tures of Rudyard Kipling in France. Diss., 1950, Columbia Univ. Abstract in *MA*, XI, 355-57.

Finds that "perhaps only Shakespeare and Dickens among English writers ever scored a greater triumph in France"; also devotes a chapter to the causes and effects of Kipling's enduring vogue in France.

Landor (see also III, Ellis). Artom, Guiliana. "Landor and Dickens." *TLS*, Dec. 28, p. 837.

Davie, Donald A. "The Shorter Poems of Walter Savage Landor." *EC*, I, 345-55.

Lear (see III, Sewell).

Lewis, George Cornwall (see III, Bock).

Lovell. Dunkel, Wilbur D. "The Career of George W. Lovell." *Theatre Notebook*, V, 52-59.

On a minor playwright of the early Victorian period.

Macaulay. Vowles, Richard B.; De Beer, E. S. "Macaulay's *History* and the Lampoon." *N & Q*, July 21, p. 320; Aug. 18, p. 371.

Mallock, W. H. *The New Republic*. . . Ed. by J. Max Patrick. . . See VB 1950, 252.

Rev. by J. H. Marshburn in *BA*, XXVI (1952), 81; noted with praise in *TQ*, XX, 301-2.

Woodring, Carl R. "Notes on Mallock's *The New Republic*." *NCF*, VI, 70-72.

Maurice. Ramsey, Arthur Michael. *F. D. Maurice and the Conflicts of Modern Theology*. (Maurice Lectures, 1948.) London: Cambridge Univ. Pr. Pp. 118.

Rev. in *DUJ*, XLIII (1950-51), 118-19; in *N & Q*, Aug. 18, p. 374; in *TLS*, Apr. 27, p. vii.

Wood, H. G. *Frederick Denison Maurice*. . . See VB 1950, 252.

Rev. by W. R. Matthews in *CR*, CLXXXIX, 125-26; in *TLS*, Apr. 27, p. vii.

Mayhew, Henry. *Mayhew's Characters* [selections from *London Labour and the London Poor*]. Ed. with a note on the English character by Peter Quennell. London: Kimber. Pp. xx+336.

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Request for letters.

Eaker, J. Gordon. "Meredith's Human Comedy." *NCF*, V, 253-72.

Fain, John Tyree. "Meredith and the 'Cuckoo Song.'" *MLN*, LXVI, 324-26.

Mueller, William R. "Theological Dualism and the 'System' in *Richard Feverel*." *ELH*, XVIII, 138-54.

Mill (see also III, Acton, *A Century of Books*; **Ruskin**: Fain). Hayek, F. A. *John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor: Their Correspondence and Subsequent Marriage*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Pr. Pp. xii+308.

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White, R. J. "John Stuart Mill." *Cambridge Jour.*, V, 86-96.

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S, Jan. 5, pp. 24-25; in *SRL*, June 30, p. 29; in *TLS*, Jan. 12, p. 19.

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Newman (see also III, Tillotson). Bantock, G. H. "Newman and Education." *Cambridge Jour.*, IV, 660-78.

Praises Newman because he stresses the need for training the mind and asserts objective values. Final sentence: "It is not necessary to have accepted the Catholic dogmatic system before one can see that Newman has pointed a way."

Havens, Raymond D. "A Parallel That Is Not a Borrowing." *MLN*, LXVI, 271.

A short homily which should be read by any graduate student who wishes to play the dangerous game of parallels and borrowings.—K. L.

K., A. "Cardinal Newman and His Forebears." *N & Q*, Apr. 14, pp. 164-69; May 26, pp. 230-33.

McGrath, Fergal. *Newman's University: Idea and Reality*. New York: Longmans. Pp. xv+537.

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Rev. by F. J. Moore in *Churchman*, Feb. 1, p. 17; in *DUF*, XLIII (1950), 71-72; by Alfred Noyes in *English*, VIII, 206-7; by John Raymond in *NS*, Dec. 9, 1950, p. 606; by Anne Fremantle in *NYTBR*, Jan. 28, p. 12; by F. McGrath in *Studies: An Irish Quart. Rev.*, XXXIX, 488-89.

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Rev. by DeLancey Ferguson in *HTB*, Dec. 2, p. 6; by Robert Phelps in *N*, Jan. 26, pp. 89-90; by Leo Lerman in *NYTBR*, Dec. 23, p. 5; by Nigel Nicholson in *S*, Feb. 23, pp. 252, 254; in *TLS*, Jan. 19, p. 33.

- Pater** (see also III, Bertocci, Tillotson). Osbourn, R. V. "Marius the Epicurean." *EC*, I, 387-403.
- Patmore**. Cohen, J. M. "Prophet without Responsibility: A Study in Coventry Patmore's Poetry." *EC*, I, 283-97.
- Potter, Beatrix** (see **Hardy**: Weber, *Hardy and the Lady* . . .).
- Reade**. Gettmann, Royal A. "The Serialization of Reade's 'A Good Fight.'" *NCF*, VI, 21-32.
- Rossetti** (see also **Siddal**: Procter). Doughty, Oswald. "Rossetti and Mrs. Morris." *TLS*, June 8, p. 357.
- A letter substantiating some of Mr. Doughty's contentions in *A Victorian Romantic* (see VB 1949, 275; 1950, 255) relative to the relationship of Jane Morris and D. G. R. The evidence comes from letters by Dr. Hake. Doughty appears to have sustained his inferences. See also Sydney Cockerell on Jane Morris, D. G. R., and W. M., July 6, p. 421, and Doughty's strong rebuttal, Aug. 17, p. 517, followed by a testy letter from Sir Sydney, Aug. 24, p. 533. Further comment by Philip Henderson, Sept. 7, p. 565.—K. L.
- Unwin, Rayner. "Keats and Pre-Raphaelitism." *English*, IX, 229-35.
- A comparison of the poetry of Keats and Rossetti.
- Ruskin** (see also I, Stark; II, Lloyd; III, Bates, R. H., Buckley). Burd, Van Akin. *Ruskin's Defense of Turner*. Diss., 1951, Univ. of Michigan. Abstract in *MA*, XI, 679-80.
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- Hamilton, K. M. "The Road Back to Ruskin." *HJ*, L, 48-55.
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- Litzenberg, Karl. "Controversy over Ruskin: Review Article." *JEGP*, L, 529-31.
- Townsend, Francis G. *Ruskin and the Landscape Feeling: A Critical Analysis of His Thought during the Crucial Years of His Life, 1843-56*. ("Illinois Studies in Language and Literature," Vol. XXXV, No. 3.) Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Pr. Pp. 94.
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- Anon. "Bernard Shaw [indebtedness to and attitude toward Dickens]." *Dickensian*, XLVII, 9.
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- Boas, Frederick S. "Joan of Arc in Shakespeare, Schiller, and Shaw." *Shakespeare Quart.*, II, 35-45.
- Chase, William D. "Shavians of America." *SRL*, Mar. 17, p. 25.
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- Argues that Shaw's technique, in spite of a "smoke-screen of blather about the technical innovations of the Ibsen-Shaw drama," is fundamentally conventional; that his plays are not economic essays but, as Shaw called them, "plays of life, character, and human destiny."—A. W.
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- Glicksberg, Charles I. "Shaw the Novelist." *Prairie Schooner*, XXV, 1-9.
- Hackett, Francis. "Shaw and Wells." *AM*, CLXXXVII (May), 73-76.
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- McCarthy, Desmond. *Shaw's Plays in Review*. New York: Thames. Pp. 211.
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- Pearson, Hesketh. *G. B. S.: A Postscript*. . . . See VB 1950, 257.
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- Rattray, R. F. *Bernard Shaw: A Chronicle*. Luton (Eng.): Legrave.
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Daiches, David. "Which R. L. S.?" *NCF*, VI, 61-70.

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On Stevenson's tribute to a former teacher.

Elwin, Malcolm. *The Strange Case of Robert Louis Stevenson*. . . . See VB 1950, 257.

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On R. L. S. and his critics.

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Request for use of Symons documents.

Sklare, Arnold B. "Arthur Symons: An Appreciation of the Critic of Literature." *JAA*, IX, 316-25.

Tennyson (see also I, [Weber]; II, Lloyd; III, Buckley, *A Century of Books*, Commager; **Brownings**: Thaler; **Dickens**: *Dickensian*: Carlton; **Fitzgerald**: Short). Bowman, Mary Virginia. "The Hallam-Tennyson *Poems* (1830)." *Studies in Bibliography, Univ. of Virginia*, I (1948-49), 193-99.

Green, David Bonnell. "Keats and Tennyson." *N & Q*, Aug. 18, p. 367.

Green, Joyce. "Tennyson's Development during the 'Ten Years' Silence' (1832-1842)." *PMLA*, LXVI, 662-97.

A detailed analysis of the strictures in the reviews of Tennyson's 1830 and 1832 volumes, of the deletions and revisions made by the poet before publication of the 1842 volumes, and of the probable reasons for the changes made. On the whole, Tennyson is cleared of the charge of sycophancy.—A. W.

Gwynn, Frederick L. "Tennyson at Leyte Gulf." *Pacific Spectator*, V, 149-60.

Jones, Frederick L. "Tennyson's 'Crossing the Bar.'" *Ex*, X, Item 19.

A daring and, in this writer's opinion, a very correct presentation of the confusion in figure and symbol present in one of Tennyson's most widely known poems. It should be pointed out that "the fusion of separate but associated figures" which Mr. Jones discovers in "Crossing the Bar" may

- also be found in the early poem "The Poet" (the melody-arrow-seed-flower figures).—K. L.
- Jump, J. D. "Shelley and Tennyson." *N & Q*, Dec. 8, pp. 540-41.
- A "source" for some of the phrasing in a famous stanza of *In Memoriam*. Questionable.—A. W.
- McLuhan, H. M. "Tennyson and Picturesque Poetry." *EC*, I, 262-82.
- Meyerstein, E. H. W. "A Drayton Echo in Tennyson." *TLS*, Mar. 9, p. 149. See also VB 1950, 259.
- Waterston, Elizabeth Hillman. "Symbolism in Tennyson's Minor Poems." *TQ*, XX, 369-80.
- Werner, Jack. "Arthur Tennyson." *N & Q*, Apr. 14, p. 172.
- Thackeray** (see also I, Stark; II, Lloyd; III, *A Century of Books*, Fletcher, Troughton; **Fitzgerald**: Short). Ennis, Lambert. *Thackeray, the Sentimental Cynic*. ("Northwestern Univ. Studies," "Humanities" series, No. 25.) Evanston: Northwestern Univ. Pr. Pp. vii+233.
- Rev. by Lionel Stevenson in *JEGP*, L, 565-67; by Siegfried Mandel in *SRL*, Sept. 29, p. 36; in *U.S. Quart. Book Rev.*, VII, 141.
- Greig, J. Y. T. *Thackeray: A Reconsideration*. . . . See VB 1950, 260.
- Rev. by Lionel Stevenson in *NCF*, V, 325-28; by Kathleen Tillotson in *MLR*, XLVI, 266-67.
- MacCarthy, B. G. "Thackeray in Ireland." *Studies: An Irish Quart. Rev.*, XL, 55-68.
- Ray, Gordon. "Vanity Fair: One Version of the Novelist's Responsibility." In *Essays by Divers Hands*, ed. for the Royal Soc. of Lit. by Sir Edward Marsh, new ser., XXV (1950), 87-101.
- Tilford, John E., Jr. "The 'Unsavory Plot' of *Henry Esmond*." *NCF*, VI, 121-30.
- The relationship and marriage of Rachel and Henry, which caused many Victorian critics to take Thackeray severely to task, have been rather inexplicably ignored in modern analyses of *Henry Esmond*.—A. W.
- Thompson**. Connolly, Terence L. "Thompson's 'Grace of the Way.'" *Ex*, IX, Item 56.
- Weaver, Catherine Carolin. *Francis Thompson's Philosophical Poetry: An Evaluation*. Diss., 1951, Univ. of Michigan. Abstract in *MA*, XI, 691-92.
- "On aesthetic grounds . . . an important minor poet, the author not only of 'The Hound of Heaven' but of some dozen other very good poems."
- Thomson** (see also II, Altick). Walker, Imogene B. *James Thomson (B. V.)*. . . . See VB 1950, 260.
- Rev. by Graham Hough in *MLN*, LXVI, 283-84; by J. M. Cohen in *S*, Jan. 12, p. 58.
- Trelawny**. Grylls, Rosalie Glynn. *Trelawny*. New York: Macmillan. Pp. vii+256.
- Rev. by L. A. Marchand in *NYTBR*, May 6, p. 5.
- Trollope** (see also II, Lloyd; III, McAleer; **Hardy**: Wilson). *The Letters of Anthony Trollope*. Ed. by Bradford A. Booth. New York: Oxford Univ. Pr. Pp. xxx+519.
- Rev. in *Blackwood's*, CCLXX, 580-81; in *DUF*, XLIV, 33-34; by S. C. Chew in *HTB*, Aug. 19, p. 9; by B. B. Libaire in *LJ*, Sept. 1, p. 1336; by J. E. Baker in *NCF*, VI, 218-21; by Walter Allen in *NS*, Aug. 11, p. 160; by Michael Sadleir in *S*, Aug. 24, p. 247; in *TLS*, Aug. 10, p. 498.
- North America*. Ed. with an introd., notes, and new materials by Donald Smalley and Bradford A. Booth. New York: Knopf. Pp. xxxvii+555.
- Rev. by H. S. Commager in *NYTBR*, Dec. 23, pp. 3, 9.
- Booth, Bradford A. "Trollope on the Novel." In *Essays . . . Dedicated to Lily B. Campbell*, pp. 219-31. Univ. of California Pr., 1950.
- Coyle, William. "An Error in Trollope's Last Novel." *NCF*, VI, 222.
- Midway through *An Old Man's Love*, Trollope changed "Mr. Furnival" to "Mr. Hall."
- Coyle, William. "Trollope and the Bi-columned Shakespeare." *NCF*, VI, 33-46.
- Tabulation of 326 references to Shakespeare, 91 of them to *Hamlet*.

- Fraser, Russell A. "Anthony Trollope's Younger Characters." *NCF*, VI, 96-106.
- Trollope's younger characters are usually undistinguished but are yet more "fully realized" than those of Dickens.
- Robbins, Frank E. "Chronology and History in Trollope's Barset and Parliamentary Novels." *NCF*, V, 303-16.
- Thorp, Willard. *Trollope's America*. Drinker, Henry S. *The Lawyers of Anthony Trollope*. (Two addresses delivered to members.) New York: Grolier Club, 1950.
- Rev. in *NCF*, VI, 152; in *TLS*, May 25, p. 332.
- Tingay, Lance O. "The Reception of Trollope's First Novel." *NCF*, VI, 195-200.
- Walford, Edward (see Kingsley, Henry: Buckler).
- Ward, Ed. "Mrs. Humphry Ward." *TLS*, June 15, p. 372.
- Lederer, Clara, "Mary Arnold Ward and the Victorian Ideal." *NCF*, VI, 201-8.
- Trevelyan, Janet. "Mrs. Humphry Ward and Robert Elamere." *S*, June 8, p. 745. See also comment by J. A. T., June 15, p. 786.
- White, William Hale. Merton, E. S. "The Personality of Mark Rutherford." *NCF*, VI, 1-20.
- Wilde, Lady. Wyndham, Horace. *Speranza: A Biography of Lady Wilde*. London: Boardman, 1951; New York: Philosophical Libr., 1952. Pp. 247.
- Rev. by DeLancey Ferguson in *HTB*, Jan. 27, 1952, p. 14; by St. John Ervine in *S*, Apr. 27, p. 562. On the mother of Oscar Wilde.
- Wilde, Oscar (see also III, Buckley, Price; Henley: Connell; Wilde, Lady: Wyndham). Alston, R. W. "The Gallantry of Love and Malice." *TC*, CXLIX, 148-56.
- An essay on the wit of Wilde and Whistler, suggested by Pearson's *The Life of Oscar Wilde*.
- Ervine, St. John. *Oscar Wilde*. London: Allen. Rev. by Leonard Woolf in *NS*, Dec. 15, pp. 711-12; by Jocelyn Brooke in *S*, Dec. 21, p. 862.
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- Evidence to suggest that Poe derived from the writings of Christopher North essential ideas and some phrasing. It is puzzling that no reference is made to an article on much the same theme by Diana Pittman in *Southern Literary Messenger*, IV (1942), 143-68.—A. W.
- Wiseman, Gwynn, Denis. *Cardinal Wiseman*. Dublin: Browne & Nolan, 1950.
- Rev. by J. Gannon in *Studies: An Irish Quart. Rev.*, XL, 242-43.
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- New information on the friendly relationship between the two men. Contains several previously unpublished Wordsworth items.—A. W.
- Wyndham (see also Henley: Connell). Biggs-Davison, John. *George Wyndham: A Study in Toryism*. London: Hodder. Pp. ix+246.
- Rev. by John Raymond in *NS*, June 23, p. 718.
- Yeats (see also III, Raymond, Williams). *Collected Poems*. 2d ed. . . . See VB 1950, 262.
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Pearce, Donald R. "Yeats' Last Plays: An Interpretation." *ELH*, XVIII, 67-76.

Saul, George Brandon. "Jeffares on Yeats." *MLN*, LXVI, 246-49.

Contains a list of errors in *W. B. Yeats, Man and Poet*. . . See VB 1949, 282.

Saul, George Brandon. "Yeats and His Poems." *TLS*, Mar. 31, 1950, p. 208.

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Whalley, George. "Yeats' Quarrel with Old Age." *QQ*, LVIII, 497-507.

Witt, Marion. "Yeats on the Poet Laureate-ship." *MLN*, LXVI, 385-88.

Witt, Marion. "Yeats' 'To His Heart, Bidding It Have No Fear.'" *Ez*, IX, Item 32.

Yonge. Shears, Evelyn J. "Charlotte M. Yonge's *The Daisy Chain*." *N & Q*, Jan. 20, p. 41. See VB 1950, 262.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor of "Modern Philology"

SIR:

As you do me the honor of devoting no fewer than nine pages of your review to a criticism [MP, XLIX, 124-32] by Dr. Flatter of a single volume of my serial edition of Shakespeare, perhaps you will allow me to make a brief reply to some of his points.

His main strictures seem to be three in number: (1) that the text is essentially that of eighteenth-century editors; (2) that no attempt has been made to find sense in the Folio lineation; and (3) that the editor's elaborate stage directions are at once gratuitous and offensive. And all three criticisms proceed from ignorance.

To begin with the last, where the ignorance is pardonable, since Dr. Flatter is naturally unaware of the circumstances attending the origins of an edition planned in 1919, though he might have found them set out in the *Modern Language Review* for October, 1930, after the issue of the first dozen volumes. For good or ill my fellow-editor, the well-known novelist Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, and I originally decided that the ordinary reader, whom we had specially in mind, and whose needs are quite different from those of the theatrical producer or the actor, might be given more help than had been afforded him by previous editors, who were after all themselves authors of most of the traditional stage directions found in our modern texts. Twenty-eight plays have been edited on these lines since 1919, and there is no going back now. Nor am I in the least repentant, though I should probably go to work rather differently were I to begin all over again. For the directions, there is ample evidence to show, *have* proved helpful to readers; even to some producers, infuriating as some other producers have found them. And when my friend Granville-Barker used to tax me with them, I reminded him that he took good care in publish-

ing his plays for a reading public to fit them out with frequent, lengthy, and often exceedingly elaborate directions. Of course his were authoritative, whereas those an editor offers to readers of Shakespeare may be far from the author's intentions; and as a matter of fact, as our knowledge of these intentions grows with the advance of scholarship, many of the directions in earlier editions have been proved wrong. But these are the risks an editor is bound to run; he does so even when he alters a single comma of the original text. And, if he errs, do not the producers err likewise? I have seldom seen a stage production of *Macbeth* which seemed to my unenlightened vision to approach anywhere near Shakespeare's intentions. But, then, I have not seen one by Dr. Flatter.

His other two charges spring from his ignorance of matters of fact and may be more briefly dealt with. When he asserts that my text is "neither modern, nor old, but essentially that of the eighteenth century," he cites in evidence the spellings "you'ld," "thou'ldst," "I'ld," etc. (instead of the modern forms "you'd," "thou'dst," "I'd"), which he says I inherit from Rowe and Pope. Had he troubled to turn to the texts of *Macbeth* they edited, he would have found that they are in point of fact inconsistent in their treatment of these forms; both, for instance, print "thou'dst" in I, v, 24, and "would'st" four times just before. The matter was first regularized by Aldis Wright, from whom I do inherit them. Let Aldis Wright then justify both himself and his disciple. In the Preface to Volume IX of *The Cambridge Shakespeare* he gives six "rules by which we have been guided in the present work," the last of which runs:

We have retained one archaism: namely, "ld" as an abbreviation of "would," the most general form in the Quartos and Folios. Our reason is that such a form cannot possibly mislead a reader, while the modern form "'d," used indifferently as the abbreviation of "would" and "had," leads

to obscurity in all cases where the present tense of one verb is identical with the past participle of another.

There are more things in editing than are dreamt of in your producer's philosophy.

Finally we come to Dr. Flatter's pet subject, the virtues of the lineation or line division of the Folio, especially in the text of *Macbeth*, as expounded in his *Shakespeare's Producing Hand*. Unfortunately this book was published after my edition had appeared, or I should have there pointed out that he had discovered a mare's nest. In the first place, instead of looking for evidence of the Master's hand in texts which according to the best critical opinion today were probably printed direct from his manuscripts, he pitched upon one which, whatever its textual history, was almost certainly *not* printed from an autograph copy (see E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare*, I, 471-72; W. W. Greg, *The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare*, p. 147). More serious still, he entirely ignored the bibliographical side of the question. Line division throughout the Folio is greatly influenced by the fact that Jaggard's compositors had to fit all their type into a rigid double-columned frame, which was often too narrow for Shakespeare's longer lines. And for evidence that those who set up the Folio text of *Macbeth* were particularly highhanded in their treatment of line division, I may perhaps refer your readers to a review of Professor Kenneth Muir's edition of the play in last January's issue of the *Review of English Studies*. I believe in short that practically every instance of irregular line division which Dr. Flatter claims as the sign manual of the Master is nothing but the monkeying of a compositor in a hurry.

J. DOVER WILSON

Three Beeches, Balerno
Midlothian, Scotland

March 13, 1952

The Managing Editor of "Modern Philology"
The University of Chicago
Chicago 37, Illinois

DEAR SIR:

We respectfully request the privilege of offering some comments on the review [by R. H.

Super] of *New Letters of Robert Browning* which appeared in *Modern Philology*, November, 1951.

We are particularly impressed by the adroitness of the reviewer's attack. With consummate skill he has wedged an occasional finding of genuine error between masses of trivia and inventions of errors. He cannot lose the game, for he makes his own rules as he goes. If astuteness is called for, he has that in good measure; if obtuseness will serve better, he has plenty of that too. At neatly timed intervals, he reminds his readers that he is trying to be fair; these demagogic pieties form perhaps the most distasteful part of the review.

The reviewer comes to the letters with a preconceived notion of what he thinks they should contain. This preconception effectively prevents his seeing, or understanding, what they do contain. From the social letters he receives an "unpleasant shock of surprise" and speculates that "surely his acquaintance . . . cannot have been so tedious as to deserve nothing better." Surely this is a sterile bit of speculation. Browning's friends were not tedious to him, nor he to them. The explanation of these letters is, in part, fairly simple: the poet who wrote "House" wrote the letters. Some very significant things may be learned about the poet from these notes, but nothing will penetrate to a person in a state of shock. The reviewer regards Browning's letters to his publisher, Chapman, as routine—an error which, when combined with other misreadings, leads to the considerable error of imagining that Browning really had no financial anxieties beyond those resulting from living abroad and banking in London! Most beginning students in Browning know better than that. It is a macabre sense of humor which finds only "amusing" the genuine hurt the poet felt and expressed toward his reviewers. Of his eleven columns on *New Letters*, the reviewer devotes one to the letters themselves, a division of space which accurately reflects the relevance of the review to the volume being considered.

The remaining ten columns are devoted to a running attack on all phases of the editing. First, the reviewer warns the reader against a claim the editors have *not* made for complete-

ness! This sort of thing is one of many examples of making up the rules as you go. Why not simply depend upon the reader to see that no claim of completeness has been advanced?

The Introduction stimulates the reviewer to a number of slurring remarks, some of them as absurd and baseless as this one: "The present editors cannot bring themselves to name the *Woman's Home Companion*." It may be that the reviewer, as in so many other instances, simply wants to show that he knows a thing or two. Otherwise the statement amounts only to a wilful bit of disparagement. Need we explain that the Introduction had no bibliographical pretensions and that that is why we did not mention the *Woman's Home Companion*?

The reviewer admits that he cannot judge the accuracy of the transcriptions and then, unabashed, writes a third of a column on the subject in which he offers a little lecture on photographic reproductions and original manuscripts. He finds "a few clear slips of the pen," and we are grateful to him for pointing these out.

The big offensive, seven columns long, is directed at the annotations. The reviewer first lists a column and a half of alleged factual inaccuracies. It is here—and later—that obtuseness and astuteness serve as the needs of disparagement require. May we comment upon the first five "errors" which the reviewer cites? These five are strictly typical of the whole list.

1. "Did Browning himself correct his misspelling of Carlyle's name?" There may be some super-subtle reason for wanting to know the answer to this question; what reason that is escapes us. It does not escape us that this is listed as an error to be added to the tally against us. (Browning, incidentally, apparently did not correct the misspelling.)

2. Why do we consider "the precedence of Darley's *Plighted Troth* over *A Blot in the 'Scutcheon* 'more apparent than real' "? Here the reviewer leans heavily on obtuseness. Page 25, note 5, spells out clearly the answer to the reviewer's question: "Macready had had the *Blot* in his possession since early 1841 and had simply chosen to place *Plighted Troth* . . . ahead of the *Blot* on his list"; in other words, *A Blot* had real precedence, but Browning was

told that *Plighted Troth* had real precedence—actually unreal or apparent precedence.

3. "The 'Twins' of Browning's letter to Chapman [p. 84] are the two volumes of *Men and Women*." This probably is a correct identification and a score for the reviewer.

4. In referring to the production of *Straford*, our note to a letter of 1856 should have read "some twenty years before" instead of "some ten years before." The reviewer is right here.

5. "Browning's servant . . . spelled his name 'Romagnoli,' not 'Romagnouli.'" Reply: Browning clearly spells the name both ways, and we have followed his spelling as it occurred. The reviewer has scored twice in the first five tries, and his record certainly does not improve as he goes along. If we had been 60 per cent wrong, our book would indeed be untrustworthy throughout!

But if a note is accurate, we still cannot escape. Now the reviewer tests for relevancy and concludes that by this standard "very much of the annotation must be discarded." Admittedly it is next to impossible within reasonable space limitations to establish the ramified relevancy of a note. We did discard at least three times as much material as we used and finally printed only the facts which were, to our way of thinking, apposite to the letters. Either a reader goes along with us here and meets us half way in seeking out the relevance, or he does not. The reviewer, we feel, simply invented difficulties which his astuteness could have avoided. When Browning mentions Landor in a letter to Forster, we comment: "Landor was admired and cared for by both Browning and Forster." Perhaps we should have inserted "later" after "and"; otherwise the note seems thoroughly pertinent to us. The reviewer's conception of relevance is extremely narrow. He thinks, for example, that "Adams' significance for Browning is simply that, as the widower of Sarah Flower, he had doubtless inherited the scraps of letters and verse which in his younger days Browning had sent her." Adams' significance for Browning was more than that and for a curious reader still more. We, who were among the first readers of this letter, wanted to know what kind of man Mr. Adams was and

what chance a poet had to succeed in any request to him for the return of some childish indiscretions. We could only demonstrate his interests, which were in the direction of practical science and *presumably* away from a poet's sensibilities. We recorded the facts which would help make clear Browning's use of the word "congenial"; i.e., "uncongenial," "unsympathetic."

The reviewer ends his discourse with more than four columns of rising invective against what he calls our "erroneous hypotheses." A hypothesis is, of course, a "provisional conjecture." It invites validation or invalidation and for this reason is as valuable and indispensable for literary research as it is for scientific. The reviewer bans such nonsense along with the use of such words as "probably," "may be," "possibly," "apparently," and the like. (The reviewer, incidentally, studiously avoids these words and *apparently* imagines that he has thereby avoided hypotheses, conjectures, and suppositions!) He complains that we have forced other scholars to solve our "unsolved

puzzles." We plead guilty in part, but the puzzles are not ours; they are puzzles in Browning scholarship, and we have deliberately pointed them out in the belief that finding right answers is the concern of everybody—even reviewers.

We shall greatly appreciate the courtesy of the editors in granting us space for the foregoing comments.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM C. DeVANE

KENNETH L. KNICKERBOCKER

[Mr. Super wishes to add the following note to the letter by Messrs. DeVane and Knickerbocker.—EDITOR.]

The full scope of the difference between myself and Professors DeVane and Knickerbocker is to be seen only by comparison of their letter with the review that called it forth, and the ultimate decision of course must depend on an evaluation of the quality of scholarship exhibited in *New Letters of Robert Browning*.

BOOK REVIEWS

Anthologie de la littérature française du moyen âge. Edited by P. GROULT and V. EMOND. Vol. I: *Textes*; Vol. II: *Notes et glossaire*. Nouvelle édition. Gembloux: Éditions J. Duculot, 1948.

This second edition of a most useful and attractively presented anthology of Old French literature very wisely limits itself to the period from the beginnings to the end of the thirteenth century. The authors were impelled to this limitation chiefly by considerations of space but could also have argued justifiably that, in a book intended primarily for university students, it is best to present only the bare essentials from the earliest period and then to emphasize the best and most original works, leaving for later studies those works representative of decline and decadence. They have grouped their selections (62 in all) in eight main sections: "Les Premiers textes," "La Littérature épique," "Le Roman, le conte et la fable," "La Poésie lyrique et satirique," "La Littérature dramatique," "La Littérature religieuse et hagiographique," "L'Histoire." It might be felt that a section on the didactic and scientific (or pseudo-scientific) literature could well have been added, in order to give to students an idea of the contents of the bestiaries, the lapidaries, and "images du monde," which depict aspects of medieval thought and culture strikingly different from anything found in the French literature of later periods. The reply to such an objection is obvious, and no doubt valid, though not explicitly stated in the preface: such works are not primarily literary, and the aesthetic interest has always been an important factor in the choice of the selections to be included.

Everyone who examines an anthology can think of works which ought, from one point of view or another, to have been included but which the anthologist has found it necessary (usually for lack of space) to omit. But no one can fairly object to the presence of most of the

items which have been included in this anthology. Almost every one of them well deserves its place here as a representative of its type in medieval French literature. The sections chosen from longer works give evidence of excellent taste and discrimination on the part of the editors and in most cases are representative of the tone and the quality of the whole work, from which only a relatively very small part could, of necessity, be taken. While the selections can only be commended as to quality, one is inclined to wonder whether the quantitative distribution is equally judicious and whether the amount of text given for each genre does not distort somewhat the impression of the relative volume of material available in each of them. This weakness is particularly apparent in the quantities of text from the narrative works, on the one hand, and from the lyrical and satirical works, on the other. Out of the total of 6,766 lines of Old French text in the first volume, 981 lines are allotted to the epics and 1,398 to the romances; but the conte and fable have 1,401, and the lyric and satire have 864 lines. This proportion hardly does justice to the two greatest genres of Old French literature. It is true that lyrical and satirical selections lend themselves better to the needs of the anthologist than extracts from longer works, but the ease with which suitable lyric pieces can be found does not affect the reality that a vastly larger volume of material has survived in the narrative than in the lyric form. Even within the section devoted to the romances, the selection from the *Roman d'Eneas* is a lyrical rather than a narrative passage—a fact which even further distorts the already unfair proportions.

It is also a little disappointing to note that the editors have chosen to present from the works of Chrétien de Troyes a group of passages only from the *Yvain*. Surely the *Erec*, the *Lancelot*, or the *Perceval* would have afforded ample choice for interesting and characteristic

selections. The *Yvain* is probably Chrétien's best work as a whole; but the anthologist is, by the very nature of his task, prevented from giving an adequate conception of the whole of a longer work. Why, then, should he not choose something from one of the romances of Chrétien which has been less commonly made available to students in other chrestomathies?—particularly as the authors say in their preface: "Nous aurions voulu aussi ne pas reproduire les extraits que l'on rencontre ailleurs, mais le bon goût de nos prédécesseurs nous a rendu cette tâche malaisée et parfois impossible."

A particularly good feature of the Groult-Emond anthology is the device of placing the notes and glossary in a separate volume from the texts. This arrangement greatly enhances the convenience and usefulness of the book for the student, who can have before him simultaneously the text and the commentary. The notes are mostly concerned with questions of syntax and form, but allusions are explained, and matters of detail, which could not properly have been included in the excellent brief descriptions prefixed in Volume I to each selection, are clarified. The glossary includes all the words and all the forms in the texts which might perplex even the most inexperienced student. In the preface to Volume II the editors explain that they have deliberately omitted all line references from the glossary. Whether one agrees or disagrees with them as to the ultimate wisdom of such a practice, it must be admitted that from the point of view of the teacher their system is more than defensible as a means of preventing the student from falling into the habit of "jurare in verba magistri." Certainly, the editors have spared no trouble to give in their glossary exact and sufficient definitions of every word which occurs in the texts of Volume I. Every teacher who has used the famous Bartsch chrestomathy knows that many students will expend more time and energy in trying to discover the section and line number of a difficult word in the magnificent glossary than they would think of devoting to an independent effort to interpret the text. And yet the purpose of the teacher is to impart an understanding and an appreciation of literature, not to develop the

skill of his students in solving puzzles. Groult and Emond are willing to give their students enough help, but they very judiciously refrain from giving too much.

WILLIAM ROACH

University of Pennsylvania

The Tudor Books of Private Devotion. By HELEN C. WHITE. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1951. Pp. 284.

Twenty years ago Professor Helen C. White's study of *English Devotional Literature (Prose) 1600-1640* put students of Renaissance religious writings permanently in debt to her. Now, in this admirable survey of a long-neglected type of sixteenth-century book, she has increased that debt. (To a large extent, her present study depends upon the framework of her earlier and broader book.)

The introductory chapter establishes the importance of this field of private devotional literature: that it "may well be expected to afford a more direct and more dependable way to the understanding of the religious consciousness of much of sixteenth-century England than any other single avenue of approach now available to us." It is on this high ground of critique that Miss White would discuss these private devotional books, and I wish therefore to return later to this high ground in evaluating her study. In her first chapter, to continue my summary, she relates common (or public) and private prayer; in Guardini's phrase, the lofty majesty of liturgy must continually be warmed by the particular passion of private prayer. In chapter ii, Miss White superbly compresses "The Medieval Inheritance," establishing the importance of Augustine's work in the devotional field, tracing the continuity of tradition through Benedict, Bernard, Francis, and Dominic, and leading to the *Imitation of Christ* as a kind of summing-up of the development of Christian devotion to the eve of the Protestant Reformation. Miss White clearly shows the considerable importance in the sixteenth century of Augustinian (and pseudo-Augustinian) works and the *Imitation of Christ*; by means of this approach she is able to show "what was most enduring in the Chris-

tian devotional tradition and what was most important in the sixteenth-century approach to that tradition." The development of the traditional Psalter is important in the larger history of devotional literature (chap. iii); but more important, in the sixteenth century, is its offshoot, the Primer, with its beginnings in the traditional Books of Hours (chaps. iv and v). Miss White shows how, under the impact of controversy, the primer became an instrument of religious change (chap. vi) and of religious settlement (chap. vii): the story of the sixteenth-century Primer was indeed "a story of tradition and innovation and repudiation and experimentation and compromise, with a constant tension between the different parties in a very confused and complicated and fluid situation" (p. 133). Later chapters cover "Guides to the Devout Life" (x), "The General Prayer Books" (xi), "The Adaptation of Traditional Materials" (xii), and "The Fifteen Oes" (xiii). The concise summary of the Conclusion (chap. xiv) points up again the duality of the literature of private devotion, of tradition, on the one hand, with all the scriptural wealth and the influence of the Church Fathers, and, on the other, of adaptation and flexibility, reflecting the responsiveness of the life of prayer to the pressures of changing times. If Miss White has not at all times and with each individual work managed to give a sense of this duality, as well as a sense of the larger influence of all those economic, social, and political forces that complicated religious situations, she has superbly done it for the literature of private devotion as a genre. It is, of course, a tribute to the challenge of the book that questions such as these are suggested (and a tribute to its pioneering quality that these by-paths are suddenly indicated for more special future studies): What of sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century religious poetry, and can a study of the private devotional literature illuminate any of the poems of Southwell or Donne or perhaps Crashaw, of which we have had only a partial understanding? (And what of the prose of the century?) What, indeed, of Spenser and Sidney and Shakespeare? A valuable bibliography and a very complete index make for usefulness and quick reference.

I have spent much time on a summary of her development of the Tudor books of private devotion because it is in the firmness and clarity with which we may now see the lines of this development that Miss White's chief contribution lies, and in this her achievement is of first importance. The richness of her bibliographical treatment adds significantly to our knowledge and provides enormous help to future students; most details of that bibliographical work I am not competent or able (with the library resources at hand) to criticize. Her handling of the wealth of bibliographical detail, though admirable, is not impeccable. E.g., p. 162, the *Preces privatae* of 1564: nowhere, apparently, does Miss White give the full title, etc., of this; presumably it is the *Preces privatae in studiosorum gratiam collectae* per Gul. Seres (1564) (STC 20378). And apparently this is the same William Seres who printed the Primer of 1553 (pp. 119-20), and *The Tablet for Gentlewomen* of 1574 (p. 168): this would make Seres a printer of some interest, in Miss White's field of concern (though generally she has not focused much attention on the printers).¹

There are two noteworthy limitations of this valuable book, of which I should say that the first is doubtless self-imposed, for reasons of space and proportion, and the second is an almost inevitable factor in such studies. The first is the highly informed level at which much of the discussion is conducted, necessarily restricted in digressions and collateral discussions; but this sometimes leaves the general reader unaware of possible issues and motives. E.g., William Rastell is mentioned (p. 83) as the printer of a primer in 1532: no identification of Rastell as a devoted nephew of Sir Thomas More or as a lawyer and printer (in both professions following his father), whose crowning work was his editing of the English works of More in 1557. Surely, some indication of the representative or atypical quality of this work² is desirable; and certainly the connection

¹ Seres' 1553 Primer was reprinted four times; the *Preces* three times (STC 20373 ff.).

² Like his father, William Rastell was chiefly a legal printer (see A. W. Reed, *Early Tudor Drama* [1926], chap. iii).

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with More (who is elsewhere discussed by Miss White) is of some interest.³ Similarly, the relationship of Vives and Erasmus is rather sketchily indicated (p. 162).

As an example of the second limitation, a failure to consider larger implications (whether biographical or theological), let me turn to her treatment of Parsons. Miss White tells us that Parsons' *Booke of Christian Exercise*

was in the beginning the work of an Italian Jesuit, Gaspare Loarte. . . . It was not only popular on the Continent, but it was translated into English, an "improved" version by James Sancer being published in Paris in 1579. Its history for us begins when Robert Parsons, the famous Jesuit missionary and controversialist, came across it [p. 170].

First written in Italian by the Spanish Jesuit, Gaspar Loarte, this treatise was published by Stephen Brinkley, under the initials "J. S." (James Sanker). There is some evidence that a further edition of this translation was printed at Parsons' secret press in England, of which Brinkley had charge.⁴ This connection between Brinkley and Parsons compels a closer attention to Parsons' changes in his edition of 1582 and a more direct explanation for his selection of this treatise than Miss White has given.⁵

The Tudor Books of Private Devotion is, then, an altogether admirable book. If too specialized for the general reader in this country or

for the undergraduate, it is certainly an essential work for every student of Renaissance religious writings.

R. J. SCHOECK

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La Culture et la civilisation britanniques devant l'opinion française de la Paix d'Utrecht aux "Lettres philosophiques." By GABRIEL BONNO. ("Transactions of the American Philosophical Society," new ser. Vol. XXXVIII, Part 1.) Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1948. Pp. 1+184.

The epithet "magistrale" which the author uses to describe Georges Ascoli's study on *La Grande Bretagne devant l'opinion française au XVIII^e siècle* might well be applied to Professor Borno's own contribution, which, as the title indicates, covers the important period extending from 1713 to 1734. Taking advantage of his predecessor's methods and of indications found in the works of Joseph Texte and Gustave Lanson (*Jean-Jacques Rousseau et le cosmopolitisme littéraire et Origines et premières manifestations de l'esprit philosophique en France*) as well as in the latter's comments in his critical edition of Voltaire's *Lettres philosophiques*, the author has produced a work which by its comprehensiveness, its thoroughness, and its logical presentation of the material will serve as a model for similar studies. The objectives which he sets forth in his introduction have been fully attained. By a methodical and detailed examination of all accessible sources of information, he not only is able to give specific answers to such questions as the extent of the influence of English literature and philosophy on French literature and thought but also succeeds in showing the true originality and significance of Voltaire's *Lettres philosophiques*. The principal aspects of British culture and civilization are presented in nine chapters. The first five are general and introductory in nature, setting forth means of contact between the two countries as well as opinions held in France regarding the character and customs, the religion, the political regime, and the commercial activity of the British. Chapters vi, vii, and viii constitute the main body of

³ Between 1529 and 1534 William Rastell printed a number of More's works; this, it may be noted, was the period of More's controversial writings and a period, we may be sure, when the More circle turned much attention to devotional exercises and writings.

⁴ See L. Hicks, S.J., *Letters and Memorials of Father Robert Parsons, S.J.*, I ("Publications of the Catholic Record Society," XXXIX [1942], introd., xlv-xlv and xxxi ff.

⁵ A report of February, 1584, indicates that Brinkley's translation had "borne immense fruit" and that "the number of heretics converted by reading it can scarcely be believed" (*ibid.*, pp. xlv-xlv; cf. also pp. 173-74).

Miss White's own *English Devotional Literature* (pp. 143-47) tells the story of the ensuing controversy between Parsons and Bunny. This is retold, with some additional bibliographical detail and with particular emphasis on the defense of Christianity and the discussion of atheism, by Ernest A. Strathmann, in *Sir Walter Raleigh—a Study in Elizabethan Skepticism* (New York, 1951), pp. 65 ff.

the work and are devoted to literature, philosophy, and science. In a final chapter the author includes various aspects of British culture not treated in the preceding categories.

The chapter devoted to English philosophy is the longest and most important. After determining the diffusion and influence of English philosophical works in France before 1713—of the four English thinkers specifically mentioned, Locke is by far the most important—Bonno, in evaluating Voltaire's interpretation of Locke's *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, shows that Voltaire uses the intellectual prestige of Locke "pour insinuer sous son nom, des suggestions philosophiques et religieuses qui dépassent la pensée véritable de l'auteur anglais," and the dignity of the English author "pour écarter des réflexions abritées sous son nom les critiques des défenseurs de l'orthodoxie." Not only was Voltaire not the first writer to reveal Locke's ideas to the French, but his *Lettres philosophiques* appeared at a time when knowledge of Locke's works had become widespread enough to permit readers to detect the tendentious nature of Voltaire's exposition.

In examining the diffusion of English philosophical works from 1713 to 1734, Bonno stresses especially the repercussions in France of the controversy between the Deists and the defenders of Christianity. His analysis of this controversy is comprehensive, concise, and clear. After a very brief historical introduction, tracing the origins of deism in England and mentioning precursors like Herbert de Cherbury, Hobbes, and Charles Blount, the author takes as his point of departure the publication of Toland's *Christianity Not Mysterious*, which appeared in 1696. He then shows how the ideas of Toland, Collins, Thomas Woolston, and Matthew Tindal were disseminated in France through reviews of their works in periodicals or by partial or complete translations; and he also shows to what extent the spread of these ideas influenced the development of deism in France. In this connection Bonno does not fail to point out the mistakes made by critics who assert that English Deists influenced writers like the Abbé de Saint-Pierre and the author of *Les Lettres persanes*. A

proper examination of the texts invalidates such a conclusion. On the other hand, Bonno stresses the value of such studies as those of Norman L. Torrey and I. O. Wade (*Voltaire and the English Deists* and *The Clandestine Organization and Diffusion of Philosophical Ideas in France from 1700 to 1750*).

No less detailed is the author's examination of the diffusion of the ideas of the writers who defended Christianity. By a careful and judicious reading of the translations of their works or of articles about their works in periodicals, Bonno, who divides his investigation into four parts—the apologetics of the theologians, writers, philosophers, and scholars—concludes that, although the works of the English defenders of Christianity are well known in France, the influence of their works is quite limited.

In spite of the author's great skill in arranging the subject matter of the chapter devoted to English philosophy, it does not present, for the general reader, the same interest as does chapter vii, entitled "La Découverte de la littérature anglaise." The English writers discussed separately are Milton, Addison, Steele, Defoe, Swift, and Pope. The author points out that it is especially around Addison's eighteen essays on Milton that the debate on the value of *Paradise Lost* centers. Generally speaking, most of the French commentators adopt Addison's viewpoint in stressing the beauties of *Paradise Lost*. In this connection the author shows that Voltaire, who had been a pioneer in spreading Milton's fame in France, had stressed the beauties of Milton's great poem in his *Essay on Epick Poetry*, published in England in 1727 and translated by Desfontaines the following year. In Voltaire's own translation, published in 1733, he shows himself much more conscious of the poem's faults. Bonno believes that the *Essay* published in 1727 was written to pave the way for the publication of *La Henriade* and that the text of 1733 contains a more sincere expression of Voltaire's opinion. Owing to the influence of the *Dissertation* of the *Journal littéraire* (1717), the first periodical to present Milton's epic poetry to the French, and especially to translations of *Paradise Lost*, of Addison's *Cato*, of the *Spectator*, of *Robinson*

Crusoe, of the *Tale of a Tub*, and of *Gulliver's Travels*, the French abandon, to a great extent, the disdainful attitude which they had adopted in the preceding century in regard to English literature.

In discussing the spread and influence in France of scientific works produced across the Channel, the author again pays tribute to Ascoli's study and especially to Harcourt Brown's *Scientific Organizations in Seventeenth-Century France* (1934). Although the procedures followed in these outstanding studies certainly served to facilitate Bonno's investigations in this field, they in no way lessen the value of his own contribution. About eighteen pages out of a total of twenty-seven are devoted to estimating the importance and popularity of Newton's discoveries, as well as those of his disciples in the fields of mathematics, physics, optics, chemistry, and chronology. In the rest of the chapter the author shows that the diffusion of English scientific works in France is rather limited in zoölogy and more extensive in botany and geology.

In the last chapter of his study the author has grouped five fields of English intellectual and artistic activity: works on political economy, philological and erudite studies, history, travel, and fine arts. These aspects of English culture are examined in the order of their importance. In the domain of sculpture and painting, English influence is nonexistent. The articles of the *Mercure de France*, which, since the seventeenth century, had devoted more and more space to the fine arts, contain practically no references to England.

The conclusion which ends this truly remarkable study is excellent in every respect. It not only summarizes and generalizes the partial conclusions reached in the preceding chapters but also states precisely to what extent and in what manner Voltaire's *Lettres philosophiques* can be considered original. The signing of the Treaty of Utrecht marked the beginning of a period of improved Anglo-French relations. Scholars and especially men of letters were willing to overcome their prejudices and admit that Englishmen had many sterling qualities and that in the domains of philosophy, literature, and science their con-

tributions could broaden and enrich French culture and civilization. This change of attitude made possible a wide dissemination of information concerning British intellectual activity during the period under consideration. The significance of Voltaire's *Lettres philosophiques* is not due to the extent and originality of the information which they furnish about England. As a matter of fact, Voltaire omits many significant aspects of intellectual activity across the Channel. For example, he does not mention the works of British economists, and, with the exception of Newton's discoveries and the practice of inoculation, he says nothing about British scientific activity. Bacon and Locke appear as the only representatives of British philosophy, and there are no references to the controversy about deism.

The originality of Voltaire consists in the manner in which he speaks of religion, political institutions, philosophy, and science. What gives a personal touch to the two letters on religion is the obvious satire and the more or less veiled irony with which Voltaire expresses his hostility toward Christianity in general and Catholicism in particular. In the two letters on political institutions the satirical tone is replaced by a plea in favor of a better understanding of those institutions on the part of his fellow-countrymen. The letters on literature do scarcely more than complete his forerunners' information in this field by including a more equitable estimate of English comedy. But perhaps the most significant aspect of the letters on literature is the fact that they are written not by translators or by journalists, whose authority is questionable, but by one of the foremost figures of French literature. With the exception of Bacon, considered chiefly as the founder of the experimental method, Voltaire limits his presentation of English philosophy to Locke, whose *Essay concerning Human Understanding* is already well known. But Voltaire popularizes Locke's philosophy and interprets it in such a way as to turn it into a weapon against the traditional spiritualism. The four letters on Newton really represent Voltaire's contribution to the dissemination in France of English scientific thought. In them, he defends the discoveries of Newton at a time

when the Cartesian tendencies of the Academy of Sciences are upheld in the *salons* by Dortous de Mairan and Fontenelle.

According to Bonno, the period under consideration is characterized by three main tendencies: intellectual curiosity, which Voltaire's *Lettres philosophiques* serve to stimulate and extend; better understanding of English character and political institutions and less disdain for English literature (in defending English political institutions and explaining the merits of English literature, Voltaire's *Lettres philosophiques* play a very important role); finally, the period in question serves to make French minds more receptive to the empiricism of Locke, the discoveries of Newton, and the ideas of writers on political economy. With respect to these first two domains—as previously stated, Voltaire does not mention British economists—the *Lettres philosophiques* are used to popularize and indoctrinate. Having thus weighed the evidence, the author sums up the role of the *Lettres philosophiques* in the diffusion of British culture in France by saying that they appear especially as a work of synthesis and propaganda, made attractive by “une présentation alerte, spirituelle et piquante. ...”

The most striking aspect of Bonno's study is his remarkable ability to see what is essential and significant in the myriad reviews, the great number of articles and books, and the numerous translations which he has so conscientiously

and profitably read. This power to discriminate is further reflected in the relative length of the chapters: the importance of the subject matter determines in every case the number of pages or paragraphs devoted to it. No less important is his skill in presenting his ideas in a form that is not only precise and lucid but also quite readable. In a study of this nature it was, of course, extremely difficult to avoid repeating certain formulas, but the author has succeeded in reducing these repetitions to a minimum. The absence of lengthy quotations—the exact words of an author are cited only when this procedure is absolutely essential to convey a peculiar flavor or nuance—also helps to make the study more readable.

The value of Bonno's contribution to eighteenth-century scholarship is considerably enhanced by a comprehensive bibliography. For example, under the heading “Periodicals,” the author lists forty-two items. The study also includes a list of abbreviations and an index. In the latter the numbers in boldface type refer to the pages containing the most important passages devoted to a certain subject. In a study of such magnitude and importance this is of considerable help to the scholar. The editing is on the whole excellent, and there are remarkably few typographical errors.

JULES C. ALCIATORE

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